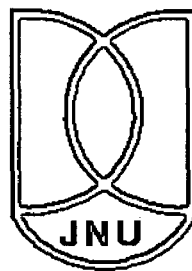


# **INDIA'S BORDER MANAGEMENT: A CASE- STUDY OF INDIA-PAKISTAN BORDER**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the award of the Degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**SHREESH KUMAR PATHAK**



**South Asian Studies Division  
Centre for South, Central, South-East Asian and South West Pacific Studies  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067  
July 2009**



CENTRE FOR SOUTH, CENTRAL, SOUTHEAST ASIAN & SOUTH WEST PACIFIC STUDIES  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**  
NEW DELHI - 110 067

Phone : 2670 4350  
Fax : 91-11-2674 1586  
91-11-2674 2580

Date 29.07.09

## DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled, "INDIA'S BORDER MANAGEMENT: A CASE-STUDY OF INDIA-PAKISTAN BORDER" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

*Shreesh Kumar Pathak*

**SHREESH KUMAR PATHAK**

## CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

*Savita Pande*  
Prof. Savita Pande

(Supervisor)



**SUPERVISOR**  
Centre for South Central South East  
Asian and South West Pacific Studies  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi - 110067

*P. S. Jha*  
Prof. Ganganath Jha



(Chairperson)  
**CHAIRPERSON**  
Centre for South Central South East  
Asian and South West Pacific Studies  
School of International Studies  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi - 110067

*Dedicated to Baisa Maa Samay Jee Maharani*

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For any drawback in this dissertation if any, I alone am responsible for it.

Shreesh Kumar Pathak



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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AGPL	Actual Ground Position Line
AOR	Area of Responsibility
AR	Assam Rifles
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BADP	Border Area Development Programme
BOPs	Border Out-Posts
BSF	Border Security Force
CISF	Central Industrial Security Force
CPMFs	Central Para-Military Forces
CPWD	Central Public Works Department
CRPF	Central Reserve Police Force
CRRI	Central Road Research Institute
DBN	Domain Border Node
DGMO	Director General of Military Operation
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GOI	Government of India
GoM	Group of Ministers
IB	Intelligence Bureau, International Border
IBB	Indo-Bangladesh Border
ICPs	Integrated Check-Posts
IMBL	International Maritime Boundary Line
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
ITBP	Indo-Tibetan Border Police
IWT	Indus Water Treaty

J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
LAC	Line of Actual Control
LoC	Line of Control
LPAI	Land Ports Authority of India
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MoD	Ministry of Defence
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NSG	National Security Guards
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
POK	Pakistan Occupied Kashmir
RPF	Railway Protection Force
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAFTA	South Asian Free Trade Agreement
SLSC	State Level Screening Committee
SSB	Sashastra Seema Bal
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UP	Uttar Pradesh
WAPDA	Water and Power Development Authority

## **Chapter-I**

### **Introduction: Concept of Border Management**

*“The first boundary was traced on the ground by the first being that understood his position in face of his neighbour’s. From individual property it passed to the collective sovereignty, i.e. to the household, from the household to the city, from the city to the province, and from the province to the country. Everything has limits, lanes, fences, walls or some other designation that defines the characteristics of the material possessions, of some being, be that a man or a social entity.”<sup>1</sup>*

➤ Castillos Goycochea

Borders define geographic boundaries of political entities or legal jurisdictions such as governments, states or sub national administrative divisions. Boundaries represent the line of physical contact between states and afford opportunities for co-operation and discord. Boundaries are the framework of a nation. As the frame is essential and inevitable for the structure, so is the case of boundaries. Borders and Boundaries are comparatively newer expression of partitions among the states. There were no clear-cut divisions of territory found for a long time in the past and neither was it needed, because *notion of territoriality* was not developed much.

*“Frontiers are indeed the razor’s edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war and peace, the life and death to nations.”<sup>2</sup> (Curzon, 1907)*

## **1.1 Evolution of Border, Boundary and Frontier**

The concept of Territory, such as it is understood today, only came to be used a little less than 300 years ago. Until then, the nations would define their territories by the land over which their governments could exert their sovereignties. The materialization on the land, with defining monuments, of the limits of a territory, only came to be from the 18th century onwards. The first trials to divide the South American continent can be traced with the treaties of Madrid (1750) and Saint Ildefonso (1777), which sought to separate the Spanish domains from those of the

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<sup>1</sup> Krukoski, Wilson R.M. (2009), “Border and Boundaries” [Online: web] Accessed 16-01-2009, URL:<http://www.info.lncc.br/wrmkkk/artigo.html>.

<sup>2</sup>Prescott, John Robert Victor (1978), *Boundaries and Frontiers*, Taylor & Francis, p.210.

Portuguese. It is all-known that the expansion of states from their heartlands or core areas.<sup>3</sup> At times in history, several states grew to local power and prominence simultaneously but never made effective contact. The natural impediments to communication were lakes, swamps, dense forests, deserts and mountain ranges. These countries, with very few exceptions, had no boundaries in the modern sense of the word, but they were nevertheless separated from their neighbours. The modern map showing all states bounded by thin lines that can be precisely represented on maps is, in the politico geographical world, a very new phenomenon. Although some of the old states, such as the Roman Empire, attempted to establish real boundaries by building stone lines such as Hadrian's Wall across the English countryside or by using rivers and other natural features as trespass lines, the present almost total framework of boundaries is a recent development.

From time immemorial nations have needed to exert control over the territories in their possessions. The formation of boundaries of gave rise to the need to secure or defend them. Throughout history, large and small states have constructed walls and fortifications in their frontier areas. The Japanese Sakai, which meant crest of divide or water parting, was probably the first example of the use of a natural feature as a boundary. The peace of Westphalia (1648) is credited with giving birth to the concept of the modern nation-state. The treaty of Pyrenees between France and Spain was the first recorded treaty which fixed a boundary based on the watershed principle.<sup>4</sup>

Historically, the word "frontier" implied what it suggests etymologically, that is, that which is "in front".<sup>5</sup> The frontier was not an abstract term or line; on the contrary, it designated an area which was part of a whole, specifically that part which was ahead of the hinterland. Hence it was often called the foreland, or borderland. In its historical origin the frontier was (1) not a legal concept, and (2) not, or at least not essentially, a political or intellectual concept. With the development of patterns of civilization above the level of mere subsistence strictly adapted to particular

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<sup>3</sup> Krukoski, Wilson R.M. (2009), "Border and Boundaries" [Online: web] Accessed 16-01-2009, URL: <http://www.info.lncc.br/wrmkkk/artigo.html>.

<sup>4</sup> "Peace of Pyrenees", *Online Britannica*; [Online:Web] Accessed 23.07.2009. URL:<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/484830/Peace-of-the-Pyrenees>.

<sup>5</sup> Kristof, Ladis K.D. (1959), *The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries*; Annals of the Association American Geographers, 49:3, p.269.

environmental conditions, the frontiers between acumen became meeting places not merely of different ways of physical survival, but also of different concepts of the good life, and hence increasingly political in character.

The etymology of the word "boundary" immediately points to the primary function of the boundary: the boundary indicates certain well established limits (the bounds) of the given political unit, and all that which is within the boundary is bound together, that is, it is fastened by an internal bond.

"Boundary" is a term appropriate to the present-day concept of the state, that is, the state as a sovereign (or autonomous) spatial unit, one among many. Since the transition from tribal law to territorial law the essentials of statehood, both from the functional and legal point of view, are: territory, people, and a government in effective control internally, independent externally, and willing and able to assume obligations under international (or federal) law.<sup>6</sup> Sovereignty is territorial; hence it must have a certain known extent: a territory under exclusive jurisdiction limited by state boundaries. The borderlands, the old marchlands, are defined more and more exactly until there is, in principle, an exact borderline.<sup>7</sup> The modern sovereign state is bound within and confined to its legal limits. The boundaries bind together an area and a people which live under one sovereign government and law and are, at least presumably, integrated not only administratively and economically but also by means of a state idea or "creed." At the same time "the state is marked off from its neighbours by political boundaries."<sup>8</sup> First of all, two terms must be separated, which are usually used improperly as synonyms: Frontier and Boundary.<sup>9</sup> The term "Frontier" is more generic and refers to a region, while "Boundary" is linked to a more precise, linear, and perfectly defined concept. The frontier can be described as a politico geographical area lying beyond the integrated region of the political unit and

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<sup>6</sup>Tribal law is sometimes identified broadly with primitive law-the law of primitive societies-and in this case it may also be territorial.

Cf. Herbert W. Briggs (1952), "The Law of Nations" Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., (2nd edition); New York, p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> In practice there is never merely a line but a zone which for different political, strategic, or administrative reasons may be broader or narrower, or even graduated in the restrictions it imposes and limitations it creates.

<sup>8</sup> Derwent, Whittlesey (1939), *The Earth and the State*; Henry Holt and Co: New York, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup>Krukoski, Wilson R.M. (2009), "Border and Boundaries" [Online: web] Accessed 16-01-2009, URL:<http://www.info.lncc.br/wrmkkk/artigo.html>.

into which expansion could take place. Boundaries were often drawn through frontiers. Expanding countries or spheres met; sometimes they fought over the area involved, and sometimes they settled the disputed area by boundary treaty. Frontiers are frequently transition zones, and few transitions are more significant on the map or on the landscape than those between one culture and another. Cultural frontiers are often traversed by political boundaries that sometimes obscure the transitional nature of the region. The trend, however since the rise of nationalism and the solidification of the states, has been toward hardening of boundaries and complete integration of a country's national's right up to the borders. Boundaries appear on maps as thin lines, but in fact, a boundary is not a line but a vertical plane that cuts through the airspace, the soil, and the subsoil of adjacent states.

Historically, the transition towards western modernity was accompanied by a transformation from frontiers to borders.<sup>10</sup> Medieval Europe, with its complementary and competing rules of feudalism, of the Christian church, and of the holy Roman Empire, was characterised by a political order based on personal bonds and shared authority. Landlords could be vassals of various superior rulers. Geographic boundaries of land did not represent a line that separated sphere of authority. This changed dramatically in the modern political system. Sovereignty, the monopolization and exclusiveness of authority, and territoriality, the geographic congruence of all rights to rule, are the cornerstone of this system. This led to formal and clear-cut borders but not necessarily to stable borders because power in a system of sovereign states depends more than before on the control over territory. The precursors of the modern state system, Great Britain and France, could channel the expansionist impulse of the state system into extensive colonialism. The latecomer nation-state Germany found the world apportioned and its aggression against its European neighbours was partly based on expansionist imperatives of geopolitical thinking.<sup>11</sup> After World War -II, the Berlin wall symbolized a world in which the dualism between east and west was manifested, locally pacified, and for decades stabilized by geographic lines of separation.

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<sup>10</sup>Blatter, Joachim K. (2005), "Border Theory", [Online: Web] Accessed 23.03.2009, URL <http://www.unilu.ch/files/border-theory.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup>Perkman, M. And Sum, N.L (2002), "Globalisation, Regionalisation and Cross-Border Regions", Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke: UK.

*“Boundaries must be barriers-if not geographical and natural they must be artificial and strong as military device can make them.”<sup>12</sup>*

(Holdich, 1916)

### **1.1.1 The Sequence in Establishing a Boundary**

The ideal sequence of events in **establishing a boundary** is as follows.<sup>13</sup>

- The first stage involves the description of the boundary and the terrain through which it runs. This description identifies, as exactly as possible, the location of the boundary being established. It may refer to hilltops, crest lines, rivers, and even to cultural features, such as farm fences and roads. This first stage, often formalised in treaties, is referred to as the definition of the boundary. When the treaty makers have completed their definition of the boundary in question, their work is placed before cartographers who, using large-scale maps and aerial or satellite imagery, plot the boundary as exactly as possible.
- The period of time separating this stage of *Delimitation* from the initial stage of definition may amount to decades; for example, several African countries whose boundaries were defined toward the end of the nineteenth century are only now in the process of exactly delimiting their borders.
- Then there is the task of marking the boundary on the ground. For this purpose, materials are employed. Boundary *Demarcation*, as this process is called, has by no means taken place along every boundary defined and delimited. When a boundary is demarcated, a wide variety of methods may be employed. Boundary demarcation is an expensive process.

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<sup>12</sup> Prescott, John Robert Victor (1978), *Boundaries and Frontiers*, Taylor & Francis, p.211.

<sup>13</sup> Glassner, Martin Ira and Chuck Fahrer (2004 ), *Political Geograph*, John Wiley & Sons, p.433.



- The final stage in boundary making is *Administration*; that is, establishing some regular procedure for maintaining the boundary markers, settling minor local disputes over the boundary and its effects, regulating the use of water and waterways in the border area, and attending to other ‘housekeeping’ matters.

Sometimes special commissions, such as the International Joint Commission of the United States and Canada and the international boundary commission of the US and Mexico, will be established to perform these functions. The tasks are usually assigned to an office in the foreign ministry or some other government agency. For many boundary segments, however, there is no regular administration; special ad hoc commissions are appointed as needed, or a particular problem is assigned to an official to handle. It is notable that, this is an ideal pattern of boundary making. It appears in practice most commonly in Europe and North America, rather regularly in Latin America, less commonly in Asia, and rarely in Africa.

## **1.2 Border Studies: Various Approaches**

*“The striking feature of the concept of the boundary is its universal acceptance.”<sup>14</sup>*

(John Robert Victor Prescott)

The history of humanity is the history of wars and most wars have had boundary change as, at least one objective. ‘*Geography serves first to make war*’, this title of a well-known book by French political geographer Yves Lacoste resounds with the symbolism. Geography was probably the earliest discipline to study boundaries and borders.

It is possible to distinguish several consecutive theoretical approaches in border studies (Table 1), which can be designated as traditional and postmodern. Border studies, also known as limology, have now been transformed into an interdisciplinary field developed in parallel by political scientist, sociologists, ethnologists, psychologists, anthropologists, lawyers, economists, physical

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<sup>14</sup> Prescott, John Robert Victor (1978), *Boundaries and Frontiers*, Taylor & Francis, p.211.

geographers and even specialists in technical sciences<sup>15</sup>. It is recognised that borders are a complicated social phenomenon related to the fundamental basis of the organisation of society and human psychology.

Traditional approaches include historical mapping, typological, functional and political methods.

*“In accordance with the general law of growth of historical spatial phenomena the borders of the larger areas embrace the borders of the smaller one.”*<sup>16</sup>

(Ratzel, 1897)

### **1.2.1 The Historical Mapping Approach**

The approach based on the historical mapping of the evolution of boundaries, their morphological features and an analysis of the human geography of border regions emerged from numerous case studies and applied researches related to boundary allocation, delimitation and demarcation that took place after the First World War. Its main achievements consist, first, of the combined study of borders in space and time, focusing on the formation and stability of the border-line. Second, there are the relations between the functions of the boundary and the political regime and foreign policy orientations of neighbouring states, which were analysed in depth for the first time. As the well known French geographer Jacques Ancel noticed in 1938, *“it is not the frame which matters but what is framed”*.<sup>17</sup> Thus, it was then shown that border studies have an interdisciplinary nature. Third, it was proved that a deep relationship exists between the regime, the functions and sometimes even the morphology of the boundary, and the balance of the economic, political and military might of neighbouring countries. A stronger state often imposed the line and the functions of the boundary upon its weaker neighbour. Fourth, it was extremely important that experts came to the conclusions that it was not possible to establish or reach ‘natural’ boundaries matching physical limits like mountain ranges, or large

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<sup>15</sup> Kolossov, Vladimir (2005), “Border Studies: Changing Perspectives and theoretical approaches”, *Geopolitics*, 10:606-632, p.606.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid*

<sup>17</sup> Prescott, J.R.V. (1965), *The Geography of Frontiers and Boundaries*, Aldine Publishing Company: Chicago, p.3.

rivers, or to set boundaries perfectly coinciding with ethnic delimitations. Fifth, geographers demonstrated the possible political implications and use of careful studies and the mapping of border regions. Sixth, the concepts of 'frontier' and 'border' were defined.

Countless *typologies* of political boundaries have had as long history as their mapping. Geographers and politicians have distinguished numerous types of boundary by their morphology, natural features, origin, history and 'age', historical circumstances of allocation and delimitation ( for example, post war, colonial, imposed, etc.), and functions. They have also tried to combine various characteristics of boundaries and their classifications have led to useful generalisations.<sup>18</sup> These have contributed to a better understanding of, on the one hand, the impact of the physical and social characteristics of a region and the history and politics of neighbouring states on the boundary's allocation and delimitation and, on the other, of the boundary's influence on human life and the physical and social landscape.

Knowledge gained from the historical mapping and typologies of boundaries was widely applied to the allocation and the delimitation of the colonial possessions of the European powers and of international boundaries after the First World War. The European concept of the boundary as a strictly defined line was imposed on regions in Asia and Africa that had never known it before.<sup>19</sup>

### **1.2.2 The Functional Approach**

Several generations of researchers began to develop the **functional approach**, mainly in the period after the Second World War. Special attention was paid to the functions of boundaries and to the political and territorial factors that determine them. The works of John House, who suggested an operational and efficient model for the study of trans-boundary flows, brought this approach to maturity.<sup>20</sup> Usually it accepts the allocation of a boundary as a given reality and focuses on its permeability for various purposes and on its impact on economy and society. The main practical application of the functional approach was cross-boundary cooperation and the management of social processes in border areas.

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<sup>18</sup> Kolossov, Vladimir (2005), "Border Studies: Changing Perspectives and theoretical approaches", *Geopolitics*, 10:606-632, p.611.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid*

<sup>20</sup> House, J. William (1982), "Frontier on the Rio Grande: A Political Geography of Development and Social Deprivation", Oxford Clarendon Press, p.183.

### **1.2.3 The Political Approach**

The political approach to border studies was created mainly by political scientist.<sup>21</sup>

*“Political balance (between countries) is to a large extent dependent on the (characteristics of) borders between them.”<sup>22</sup>*

(Ratzel, 1897)

In recent times they have studied the relationships between the paradigms of international relations and the functions of state boundaries. In the ‘realistic’ paradigm, the states are perceived as the most important actors on the international scene, and boundaries between them are interpreted as strict dividing lines protecting state sovereignty and national security. According to ‘liberal’ views, states are not the only and sometimes not even the major political actors, and the principal function of state boundaries is to connect neighbours and to enable various international interactions.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, it is necessary to eliminate territorial disputes and border conflict and to develop cross-boundary communications and infrastructure.

### **1.2.4 The Global Paradigm Approach**

Finally the global paradigm pays special attention to international networks connecting all kinds of economic and political actors-state and non-state. Due to the development of networks, state boundaries are being gradually transformed into virtual lines and are being replaced by economic, cultural and other boundaries.<sup>24</sup> Despite the accumulation of abundant information and important theoretical publications, border studies have, until recently, suffered from a lack of theoretical reflection. Traditional approaches explained the phenomenon of state borders first of all by political factors, interpreting them as a mirror of the neighbouring states’

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<sup>21</sup> Goertz, G. and P. F. Diehl (1992), *Territorial Changes and International Conflicts*, Routledge: New York, p.41.

<sup>22</sup> Prescott, John Robert Victor (1978), *Boundaries and Frontiers*, Taylor & Francis, p.61.

<sup>23</sup> Goertz, G. and P. F. Diehl (1992), *Territorial Changes and International Conflicts*, Routledge: New York, p.41.

<sup>24</sup> Moraczewska, A. (2005), “The Changing Interpretation of Border Functions in International Relations”, *Geopolitics*, p.612.

military, economic and political power. The essence of states, their policy and their hierarchical relations at the global and macro-regional levels were seldom taken into account. States were considered as given realities, or 'natural' regions, acting as an integral entity. Such a view of space is typical of traditional positivist positions. From the positivist perspective, space is analysed as an independent object that influences social phenomena through a system of casual links. In practice, a country's borders and internal administrative boundaries have always been considered separately, corresponding to a strict separation of studies on international and domestic policy.

Over time, it became clear that boundaries cannot be studied merely at the national level and the situation in the border zone can not be explained only in terms of a boundary between two countries. On the one hand, supranational organisations play a more significant role than earlier. On the other, economic globalisation and unification of cultures are awakening regional consciousness, which often contributes to the development of separatist or irredentist movements disputing the existing system of political boundaries.<sup>25</sup> In total, despite rich historical traditions, traditional approaches became unable to explain because; in some cases, even a small change in the state territory and its boundaries provokes a deep emotional reaction in the society, leading to territorial conflict, while in other cases, and new boundaries are perceived by public opinion as definitive and are not disputed. Traditional approaches could not find an answer to why some border areas, which for a long time have seemed to be peaceful, can be rapidly transformed into the foci of conflicts and provoke bloodshed, or why governments and public opinion are often so painfully sensitive toward all questions concerning political boundaries.<sup>26</sup> The appearance of postmodern concepts was a natural reaction to the methodological and analytical problems of the recent decades.

### **1.2.5 The Postmodern Trend**

The postmodern trend in limology emerged around the late 1980s. It was based on a great number of concepts proposed by political scientists, philosophers, sociologists, social psychologists etc., and is a manifestation of the increasingly

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<sup>25</sup> Kolossov, Vladimir, (2005), "Border Studies: Changing Perspectives and Theoretical Approaches", *Geopolitics*, p.612.

<sup>26</sup> Minghi, J. (1963), "Boundary Studies in Political Geography", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, (53), p.421.

interdisciplinary character of contemporary social science. As with the case of political geography as a whole, border studies were influenced, first, by the theory of world systems developed by I. Wallerstein, P. Taylor and others, and especially by the idea of the interdependence and the role of spatial scales. Second, in importance for border studies were the ideas of the structuralist theory- in the interpretation of A. Giddens – proposing that societal and global structures leave a certain freedoms of actions within a system to each of the economic and political agents. Third, border studies now widely use the notions of discourse and the social construction of space, as defined by the postmodernist theory of M. Foucault and his followers. The postmodern tendency in border studies can be divided into separate approaches listed in **Table 1** – although, of course, in a rather conventional manner<sup>27</sup>. Most often, elements of different approaches are applied together, and the matter is only one of focus.

**Table 1. The Development of Border Studies, Stages 1-4**

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<sup>27</sup> Kolossov, Vladimir, (2005), “Border Studies: Changing Perspectives and Theoretical Approaches”, *Geopolitics*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis, Inc.p. 608-610.

*Introduction: Concept of Border Management*

<b>Stage/period</b>	1.Since the late nineteenth century		2.Since the early 1950s	3.Since the 1970s	4.Since the 1980s				
<b>Dominant approaches and methods</b>	Historical-geographical approach	Borders' typology	Functional approach	Political science approaches	A.World systems and territorial identities	B.Geopolitical approaches	C.Borders as social representations	D.The 'practice-policy-perception' approach	E..Eco-political
<b>The content of a stage</b>	Accumulation of empirical data, detailed mapping of economic and social structures in border regions, numerous case studies	Numerous typologies and classifications of state borders; study of relations between the barrier and the contact function of a border	Studies of trans-boundary flows of people, goods, information, etc., and of mutual influence of borders and of different elements of the natural and the social landscapes	Studies of state borders' role in International conflicts	Border studies at different inter-related levels depending on the evolution of territorial identities and the role of a border in the hierarchical of political borders as a whole	Impact of globalisation and integration on political borders	Borders as social construct and a mirror of social relations in past and present; borders' role as a social symbol and importance in political discourse	Relations between the policy determining the transparency of a border, its perception by the people and the practice of activities related with this border	Relations between natural and political borders
<b>The main concept and achievements</b>	Representations on the evolution of borders and border areas in space and time; explanation of borders' features and morphology by the balance of power between neighbouring states; rise and decline of theory of natural borders	Concepts of border and frontier; theories explaining their evolution and morphology	Model of trans-boundary interactions at different spatial levels and typologies of trans-boundary flows; understanding of borders as a multidimensional and highly dynamic social phenomenon; concepts of the border landscape and of the stages of border areas' evolution	Relation between borders' features and their role in the beginning, the evolution and the resolution of the border conflicts; borders are most often considered as a given reality	Modelling of relations between borders and the hierarchy of territorial identities	Representations about processes of 'de-territorialisation' and 're-territorialisation' (re-distribution of functions between borders of different levels and types) and about the evolution of the system of political and administrative borders	Approaches to the study of borders as an important element of ethnic, national and other territorial identities	Influence of border policy, practice and perception on the management of border regions and border cooperation	Functions of natural and political borders as a integrated system and management of transboundary socio-environmental systems
<b>Leading authors</b>	J. Ancel (France); I.Bowman	Lord Curson, T. Holdich; C.	J.R.V.Prescott; (Australia) J.W.House (Britain),	G.Goertz and P.Diechi, T. Gaur, H.Starr,	Paasi (Finland); D. Newman (Israel);			H. Van Houtum and O. Kramsch (the	O.Young, G.White (both USA); N.Kliot

	(USA) E. Banse (Germany)	Fawcett (all-Britain), S. Boggs (USA)	J. Minghi (USA), M. Foucher (France), G. Blake (Britain) O. Martinez (USA)	A. Kirby (all-USA)	J. O'Loughlin (USA); P. Taylor (Britain); T. Lunden (Sweden) ; G. Waterbury and J. Ackleson (Britain) and others			Netherlands); J. Scott (Germany)	(Israel); S. Dalby (Canada), S. Gorskov and L. Korytny (Russia) and many others
<b>Practical applications</b>	Allocation, delimitation and demarcation of post-war state borders in Europe; delimitation of colonial possession in Africa and Asia	Geopolitical strategies, partition of the world into areas of major powers' influence; overall application of the European concept of the border as a strictly fixed line	Border negotiation, practice of border cooperation and management of social processes in border areas; delimitation and demarcation of new political borders (including sea borders)	Resolution of International and border conflicts, peace-making and peace-keeping	Use of border problems and conflicts in nation and state building; principles of border policy and cooperation; creation and strengthening of euroregions and of other transboundary regions			Management of border regions and border cooperation; regulation of international migration and of other transboundary	State of global and regional environmental problems; management of International river basins, etc

Source: Kolossov, Vladimir, (2005), *Border Studies: Changing Perspectives and Theoretical Approaches*, Geopolitics, Routledge, Taylor & Francis, Inc. p.608-610.

Nowadays border studies are mushrooming all around the world, for reasons that are well known by now, new books on boundaries are being published all the time and a number of institutions concentrating on border studies have been established.<sup>28</sup> A Border-study is an interdisciplinary field nowadays, and even in geography it is not merely political but is also discussed by economic, cultural and regional geographers, often rather separately.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Passi, Anssi (2005), "Generations and the Development of Border Studies", *Geopolitics*, p.667.

<sup>29</sup> Newman D. and A. Passi (1998), "Fences and Neighbours in the Postmodern World: Boundary Narratives in Political Geography", *Progress in Human Geography*: (22), p.193.



### **1.3 Idea of Border Management: Conceptual Elements**

Borders provide a definite shape to a nation. Through the borders a country makes all sorts of contacts to rest of the world. This particular nature of border increases its significance, and asks for more attention to have better management because, borders are alive and susceptible vulnerable to misuse. A country, for all over development needs to make various sorts of contacts, relationships and joint ventures, etc; with other countries. All these things can be translated through the borders. So, borders are the lifeline of a country. To secure the lifeline is no doubt, to ensure the life of a nation.

#### **1.3.1 Definition of Border Management**

*Border Management is a mechanism to ensure the security of national borders and to regulate legitimate movements on borders to meet the various needs of the nation by cultural-social-economical interactions which are performed through the borders.*

Hence, the term 'Border Management', however, is a wider term that denotes controlling the administrative affairs of the borders, including ensuring their sanctity. The most important players in border management are the people residing in border areas. It is these residents who would be the beneficiaries of proper border management. At the same time, it would be virtually impossible for any of the agencies involved in border management to successfully implement their agenda without the active participation of the border population.

Today, Border Management has acquired special significance. Globalization poses global opportunities with global challenges. To adopt a soft approach towards borders for global, economic, social and cultural activities is useful and important in a way could be pose serious threats to security and integrity of a nation in another way. This requires special sorts of mechanism for border regulation and this is the purpose behind whole idea of Border Management.

### **1.3.2 Essential Features of Border Management**

Border Management has some essential features:

- Institutional mechanisms: Domestic and Joint Institutional mechanisms<sup>30</sup>
- Mobility of mechanisms: offices and security forces<sup>31</sup>
- Proper establishment of law and legal procedures<sup>32</sup>
- Use of technologies and their updating<sup>33</sup>
- Border area development programs<sup>34</sup>
- Reconcilements of border-disputes<sup>35</sup>
- Border-surveillance initiatives<sup>36</sup>

Institutional mechanisms provide a general set-up to meet the challenges which come in way of the management of borders. Domestically; it coordinates all concerning agencies and supervise the developments and measures. In a joint Institutional mechanism, it coordinates other institutions among participating countries.

Mobility is very essential condition to ensure the security of borders. Borders are alive and its conditions are always changing. So, there must be a security force which is mobile in nature and its offices also should adapt according to new demands of borders. Mobility refers here to access in time wherever and whenever it is needed.

To reconcile the day-to-day disputes, which naturally occur in course of dealing with various inter-state activities it is highly required that there should be a proper establishment of law and easy legal procedures because economic or any other activities and opportunities can not wait for a long time.

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<sup>30</sup> Blake, Gerald H. (1998), "The objectives of land boundary management", presented to the International Boundary Research Units, 7<sup>th</sup> workshop (13-14 July, 1998).

<sup>31</sup> Jamwal, N.S. (2002), "Management of Land Borders" *Strategic Analysis*, 26(3):419.

<sup>32</sup> Maloy Khrishna Dhar, "The 'Third Track' to Pakistan," *Indian Express*, April 2, 1997.

<sup>33</sup> Kanwal, Gurmeet(2008) "India's Borders"; *Unending Threats and Challenges*, 23.1, [Online: Web] Accessed 25-05-2009, URL:<http://www.indiandefencereview.com/2008/10/indias-borders.html>.

<sup>34</sup> "BADP", [Online: Web] Accessed 11.06.2009, URL: <http://planningcommission.gov.in/plans/annualplan/ap2021pdf/ap2021ch10-3.pdf>.

<sup>35</sup> Godbole, Madhav(2001), "Management of India's International Borders: Some Challenges Ahead" *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36 (48) 4444.

<sup>36</sup> Kanwal, Gurmeet(2008) "India's Borders"; *Unending Threats and Challenges*, 23(1), [Online: Web] Accessed 25-05-2009, URL:<http://www.indiandefencereview.com/2008/10/indias-borders.html>.

Borders are of various types. To guard and regulate it smartly requires technology. There should be proper flow of money to provide technological advancement to border management bodies. Time to time proper updating is very necessary in technologies for better efficiency.

Often, people on borderland areas are neglected or development program are not able to cover these areas effectively. This can lead to discontent among the borderland people. This situation can be easily exploited by rival country against the nation. To avoid it, proper development of basic infrastructure is very necessary. Government can launch special series of programmes for all over development of borderland area.

Border-disputes are big obstacles in the path of effective Border Management. It is necessary that certain political initiatives should be taken by the political leadership which could make the positive environment to reconcile the disputes or at least to ensure the proper flow of essential border activities.

Border-surveying is required for better Border management to know the needs of borders in certain point of time. This provides important inputs to Border Management bodies. This also gives the idea of further advancement of mechanism. Border-surveillance gives the opportunity to revise the system.

These features are changeable according to needs of the countries, participating countries, regions and purposes. Border Management is a very new concept and it is evolving everyday. Border Management is the package of various sorts of mechanisms; generally it depends on which sorts of needs of the nation which could be fulfilled through regulated and well-managed borders. Sometimes it seems that it is confined merely to secure the borders but gradually newer dimensions are added to explore further advantages.

Gerald H. Blake<sup>37</sup> states that, 'the objectives of border management strategy will be determined initially by national foreign policy objectives. The boundary may even be used as an instrument of foreign policy, particularly if relations between

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<sup>37</sup> Blake, Gerald H. (1998), "The objectives of land boundary management", presented to the International Boundary research units, 7<sup>th</sup> workshop: 13-14 July, 1998.

neighbours are poor. The fundamental aims of good boundary management are designed to achieve (a) International Peace, (b) Local and National security, (c) Borderland Prosperity and (d) Effective Local government.’

‘Border Management’ indicates that it has three major facets. These are (a) Ensuring the security of border areas by preventing trans-border crimes; this would generally lie in the domain of border-guarding forces, (b) Ensuring the welfare of the border population and integrating them in the national mainstream; this would generally lie in the domain of civil administration and other government departments, and (c) Ensuring prompt resolution of all border related problems and maintaining cordial relations with the counterpart, especially between counterpart border-guarding forces; this would require a certain amount of diplomatic acumen on the part of border-guarding force commanders and a clear-cut mutually acceptable framework for solving problems.

#### **1.4 Nature of Borders in South Asia**

The nature of borders in South Asia makes the region a unique case. At least five distinct features can be discerned while discussing the nature of borders in South Asia<sup>38</sup>. First, the physical nature of the borders is not uniform. They are land-based, sea-based, riverine, and mountainous and so on. Sections of the borders are yet to be completely delineated and demarcated. The 4,350 km long India-Bangladesh border alone has all these features. There are 51 Bangladesh enclaves covering an area of 7,110 acres in India and 111 Indian enclaves covering 17,150 acres in Bangladesh.<sup>39</sup> These enclaves have been reported as significant locations used for smuggling, avoiding customs and excise duties, importing of contraband and also for illegal border crossing by migrants. There are more than 2,800 acres of Indian land under adverse possession by Bangladesh and more than 2,100 acres of Bangladeshi land under adverse possession by India.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Chandran, D.Suba and P.G. Rajamohan (2007), “Soft, Porous or Rigid? Towards Stable Borders in South Asia”, *South Asian Survey*, 14(1), p.119.

<sup>39</sup>Jamwal, N.S.(2002), “Management of Land Borders”, *Strategic Analysis*, 26(3), p.417.

<sup>40</sup>Kamboj, Anil(2006), “Border Management: Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan”, *World Focus*, 27(8), p.24

Besides being diverse in terms of topography, the fact that these borders are long makes it physically impossible to monitor them in their entirety. The Indo-Nepal border is more than 1,750 km, with almost all the important states of north India, Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Sikkim abutting Nepalese territory. In certain cases, the border provinces of a country share more with the neighbouring country than with the rest of the administrative units within their own country. Of the 1,643 km of the India-Myanmar border, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland share 520 km, 510 km, 398 km and 215 km respectively.<sup>41</sup>

Second, the borders in South Asia vary in terms of movement of goods and people; they are rigid, porous, simple and open. The India-Pakistan border is rigid vis-a-vis the movement of people and goods, whereas the Indo-Nepalese border is open and porous for legal and illegal movement. Movement, both legal and illegal, between India and Sri Lanka has become much easier. While the legal movement has been made simpler, the long coast along Tamil Nadu and the relatively weak patrolling of the Palk Straits by the Indian and Sri Lankan security forces make illegal movement difficult to stop. Movements across the Durand Line between Pakistan and Afghanistan have always been easy irrespective of border controls and political rivalries between the regimes.<sup>42</sup> Though officially the movement is restricted by two major openings in Torkham and Chaman in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Balochistan respectively, there are numerous points through which illegal movement takes place between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Cross-border terrorism between Afghanistan and Pakistan has become a major issue in the period after the war on terrorism.<sup>43</sup> The 1950 treaty of Peace and Friendship defines the Indo-Nepal border as an open border (along the lines of the border between the US and Canada) allowing free movement of Indians and Nepalese. The India-Pakistan border on the other hand has been highly restricted, irrespective of the recent

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<sup>41</sup> Chandran, D.Suba and P.G. Rajamohan (2007), "Soft, Porous or Rigid? Towards Stable Borders in South Asia", *South Asian Survey* 14(1), p.119.

<sup>42</sup> Special report on "Pakistan-Afghanistan Border Conflict", *G4S Global Risks Ltd.* [Online: Web] Accessed 13.02.2009, URL: [http://www.g4s.com/grk-special\\_report\\_afghanistan\\_pakistan\\_border\\_conflict\\_final.pdf](http://www.g4s.com/grk-special_report_afghanistan_pakistan_border_conflict_final.pdf).

<sup>43</sup> Zeb, Rizwan(2006), "Cross Border Terrorism Issues Plaguing Pakistan-Afghanistan Relation", *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, 4(2), p.71.

rapprochement between the two countries.<sup>44</sup> The India-Bangladesh border, though officially rigid, unofficially and illegally has been porous and easy to cross.

Third, the borders are also illegal, arbitrary and ill defined. The states of South Asia and their borders did not evolve over a period of time, but were born suddenly after the British left the sub-continent. In most cases, the border settlements that the British Indian government had with the neighbouring countries were forced upon the people. These border demarcations were expedient in nature and ended up dividing nations, societies and families. The Durand Line is a classic example of this divide, in which the line was imposed on Afghanistan by the then British Indian government.<sup>45</sup> In 1947, the Partition of India created two more borders: one between India and West Pakistan and the second between India and East Pakistan, which subsequently became Bangladesh in 1971. In short, the borders of South Asia have not evolved over a period of time as a result of an understanding between the neighbouring countries. Rather, the states in the South Asian region were born with these illogical and arbitrary borders. Numerous references have been made to the border between India and Bangladesh and how it has divided villages, streets and in certain areas, even houses.<sup>46</sup> The Afghan-Pakistani border has divided the Pashtoon tribes, giving rise to the Pashtoon question and the numerous problems besetting Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Fourth, another important issue about the nature of borders in South Asia is the psychological aspect. While the concept of borders is based on the state system and sovereignty, how do people who live across the borders see it? Do they believe in borders or understand the modern day concept and its legal implications? Do the Pashtoon tribes living across the Durand Line in Waziristan and sharing their borders with Paktia and Paktika recognise the concept of borders? Do the Tamils living in north Colombo understand the legality of the Indo-Sri Lankan maritime border?<sup>47</sup> Understanding the idea of borders by those people who live across or cross them is an

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<sup>44</sup> Anand, Beryl and et al. (2006), "Indo-Pak Composite Dialogue 2004-05: A Profile", *IPCS Special Report*; [Online: Web] Accessed 17.02.2009, URL:[http://www.ipcs.org/pdf\\_file/issue/1372586579IPCS-Special-Report-12.pdf](http://www.ipcs.org/pdf_file/issue/1372586579IPCS-Special-Report-12.pdf).

<sup>45</sup> Chandran, D.Suba and P.G. Rajamohan (2007), "Soft, Porous or Rigid? Towards Stable Borders in South Asia", *South Asian Survey* 14(1), p.120.

<sup>46</sup> Bhaumik, Subir (2005), "Livelihood on line at Indian Borders", *BBC News*, 28 June.

<sup>47</sup> Chandran, D.Suba and P.G. Rajamohan (2007), "Soft, Porous or Rigid? Towards Stable Borders in South Asia", *South Asian Survey* 14(1), p.121.

important factor in the use and abuse of borders in South Asia. While a person living in the heartland of Pakistan and India may respect the importance and legality of the border, the people who live along the borders perceive it differently. Borders are seen as an artificial imposition and a historical anomaly. Their argument is: why should some imaginary line strengthened by posts and pillars in the last 50 to 200 years limit the movement that has been in progress for the last 2,000 years?<sup>48</sup>

Fifth, South Asian states are poor managers of borders. In most parts, the border management is corrupt and led by bureaucratic red tape and high-handedness. The management of all major borders in South Asia, including the Afghanistan-Pakistan, India-Bangladesh and India-Nepal borders have been riddled with corruption, irrespective of who is managing it.<sup>49</sup> Corruption has been reported from the local custom officials to the para-military forces that man the borders. Governance has been a major problem all over south Asia; however, this is more pronounced in the border regions. At times, bad governance is a part of a larger failure and at times it has been deliberate. It has been India's deliberate policy to keep its border regions, especially Arunachal Pradesh, underdeveloped, particularly in terms of developing the road network and relate infrastructure.<sup>50</sup> Second, corruption and the mafia operating in border regions play an important role in perpetuating the problem of bad governance. By not handling this effectively and at times being part of the problems, the government is responsible for the bad governance in border regions, more so in the mainland.

It is essential to look into the realities before making any conclusions on what should be the nature of borders in South Asia. First, this region is likely to remain violent for the following problems: failure in nation building, problems of governance, problems of corruption and democratic deficit. Second, South Asia is located between two very volatile regions, whose instability permeates into the former in terms of proliferation of drugs, arms, refugees and economic migrants. Third, the countries in South Asia are yet to reach a political understanding on various territorial disputes. Given these factors, a borderless South Asia is a recipe for disaster. Any

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<sup>48</sup> *ibid*

<sup>49</sup> Jacob, T. Jabin(2009), "Guaranteeing Borders in South Asia: Call for Five Party Talks", *IPCS Issue Brief No.91*; [Online: Web] Accessed 20.07.2009, URL: [http://www.ipcs.org/pdf\\_file/issue/379471623IB91-Jabin-FiveParty.pdf](http://www.ipcs.org/pdf_file/issue/379471623IB91-Jabin-FiveParty.pdf).

<sup>50</sup> *ibid*

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suggestions towards creatively conceptualising the borders of the region should be based on these realities.<sup>51</sup> What is essential at this juncture and in the near future is to manage the borders effectively in South Asia. As stated earlier, the countries of South Asia were born with these borders and were not a result of a natural political evolution.

An option that could be attempted, given the limitations, is to make the borders politically soft. Soft borders would make the legal movements of the people and goods easier and faster.<sup>52</sup> It is unfortunate that there are different standards and yardsticks that the South Asian countries use for visitors from the region and for those from outside the region. It is much easier for a European or American to travel India and Pakistan than it is for Indians and Pakistanis to visit each other's countries. Visa rules are stringent and in most cases aimed at not letting the other to visit each other. Countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka grant freedom of exit to their citizens, but do not provide freedom of entry. At times, some countries have even forced inhabitants to leave for neighbouring countries.<sup>53</sup>

Soft borders would also mean making the movement of goods easier. Making the movement of goods easier is likely to enhance not only bilateral and regional trade, but also create a constituency for peace. Soft borders would go a long way in strengthening South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA).<sup>54</sup> Besides soft borders, what is also essential is better management. How to manage the borders better? Better governance and reducing the level of corruption in border points and along the borders are two efficient ways to manage the borders better. Before that, demarcation and delineation of borders needs to be undertaken. Absence of proper demarcation of borders among the South Asian countries is a major problem in the better management of borders.<sup>55</sup> India particularly has problems with all the neighbours because of the un-demarcated

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<sup>51</sup> Chandran, D.Suba and P.G. Rajamohan (2007), "Soft, Porous or Rigid? Towards Stable Borders in South Asia", *South Asian Survey* 14(1), p.126.

<sup>52</sup> Puri, Luv(2003), "Towards a Softer Border", *EPW*, 31 May:2003; p.2117.

<sup>53</sup> Maloy Krishna Dhar, "The 'Third Track' to Pakistan," *Indian Express*, April 2, 1997.

<sup>54</sup> Chandran, D.Suba and P.G. Rajamohan (2007), "Soft, Porous or Rigid? Towards Stable Borders in South Asia", *South Asian Survey* 14(1), p.126.

<sup>55</sup> Godbole, Madhav (2001), "Management of India's International Borders: Some Challenges Ahead" *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36 (48) 4444.



borders and this continues to remain a source of tension and poses a hindrance towards normalisation of relation with them.<sup>56</sup>

The third important issue that would be practical and also go a long way in enhancing relations between the countries is to enhance and facilitate border trade. Border trade is different from bilateral trade. Border trade, in the long run also has the potential to dramatically increase bilateral trade. Finally, borders can be made safe only by clearly defining them and treating them as bridges to cross rather than as a divide. A borderless South Asia may be dream in the present circumstances, but borders as bridges to reach out to the outer side is a practical proposition.

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<sup>56</sup> Taneja, Nisha (2006), "India-Pakistan Trade" *ICRIER, Working Paper* No.182; [Online: Web] Accessed 17.07.2009, URL: <http://www.icrier.org/pdf/WP182.pdf>.

## **Chapter-II**

# **Border Management of India: Development, Policy and Implementation**

*“Border management has become immensely more complex over the years and the entire issue needs detailed study in order to evolve force structures and procedures that ensure improved border management and a reduction, if not the elimination, in the inflow of narcotics, illegal migrants, terrorists and arms.”<sup>1</sup>*

The proper management of borders, which is vitally important for national security, presents many challenges and includes coordination and concerted action by administrative, diplomatic, security, intelligence, legal, regulatory and economic agencies of the country to secure the frontiers and sub-serve its best interests. Border management is one of the important aspects in India's internal as well as external security. The country has 15106.7 km of land border running through 92 districts in 17 states and a coastline of 7516.6 km, touching 13 states and union territories.<sup>2</sup> India's total number of islands is 1197 which accounts to a stretch of 2094 km additional border or coastline. Excluding Madhya Pradesh, Chhattishgarh, Jharkhand, Delhi and Haryana, India have one or more international borders or coastline and can be regarded as frontline states which are very much important from the border management point of view. Apart from international border and coastline, all states have well defined borders. Further addition or elimination of areas to or from a particular state or union territory are made whenever necessary, on the basis of the amendments of the constitution. All types of state border disputes are expected to be resolved by the centre. Management of state borders is treated as an important facet in internal security of the nation.

The concept of border security has undergone a sea change with the growing vulnerability of not only land borders but also of the coastline and airspace. In response to the gradual expansion and strengthening of security so far, mainly along what has long been perceived as a sensitive land border, the transgressor is already on the look out for soft gaps, either on land or along the coast and if need be, through the air. The Purulia

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<sup>1</sup> Subrahmanyam, K (1999), “Kargil Review Committee Report”, *Government of India*, para 14.16

<sup>2</sup> “Border Management”, *Internal security*; [Online: Web] Accessed 15.02.2009; URL: <http://www.indiaonline.in/Profile/Defense/Security.asp>.

incident of 1995 has already demonstrated vulnerability from air<sup>3</sup>. Movement of massive consignments of arms and ammunition through the Gujarat coast before the Bombay blasts exposes the vulnerability of vast coastline as well.<sup>4</sup> The transgressors, with unprecedented money power, access to the latest technology, organizational strength, manoeuvrability and scope for strategic alliances with other like-minded groups, can select their theatre of action for surprise strikes. While land borders have from time to time received the Government's attention primarily because of the wars with Pakistan and China and the problems of insurgency, illegal migration from Bangladesh and smuggling activities, the same cannot be said of Indian coastal areas or airspace.<sup>5</sup> It is necessary to adopt a holistic approach in formulating a comprehensive strategy towards improvement of border management.

Pre-independent India consisted of small princely states that individually took care of violations on the borders till the British established the buffer system. However, post-independent India has been conscious towards its borders and has reacted and defended its boundary and territory - politically and militarily (fought four wars with Pakistan and one with China), signed peace and friendship treaties or boundary agreements with neighbouring countries e.g., Bangladesh (1974), Nepal (1950), Bhutan (1949), Myanmar (1967) and constituted joint working groups (for Indo-China, and Indo-Bangladesh borders).

## **2.1 Evolution of India's Borders**

Historically, India's boundaries extended over a vast geographical area stretching from the Himalayan mountain ranges in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south including the territory between the Strait of Hormuz and the Strait of Malacca. South-Asia is distinctive: Stephen Cohen classifies it as an independent geopolitical region, not within a geo-strategic region. It has been, and is guarded from the Eurasian power(s) by the massive wall of the Himalayas, from the Middle East by the Hindukush Mountains of

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<sup>3</sup>Government of India (2001), "Reforming the National Security System"; *Recommendations of the Group of Ministers*: February 2001.

<sup>4</sup>*ibid*

<sup>5</sup>Jamwal, N.S. (2002), "Management of Land Borders" *Strategic Analysis*, 26(3), p.406.

the Northwest frontiers, and from Burma and Indo-China by lower but heavily forested jagged mountain ranges.<sup>6</sup> India has absorbed many people and endured many invasions, expansions, and disintegrations of empires that have shaped its land boundaries.

The Indian subcontinent of more than one and a half million square miles was called “an intelligible isolate” by one geographer, who saw it marked off from the rest of Asia.<sup>7</sup> British territorial expansion reached inwards from the sea ports of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay in waves which successively engulfed southern India, the lower Indus and the upper Ganges valleys, and the Punjab. This was a reversal of historical patterns of the northwest to southeast spread of empire on the subcontinent. British motivations for expansion stand out as economic gains, cultural mission, and considerations of military-political security.

These threat perceptions spurred the British to establish direct or indirect control over the land and sea routes to India as well as the strategic outposts of the subcontinent. At the time of partition in 1947, Sir Cyril Radcliff, assisted by two Boundary Commissions, demarcated boundaries between India and Pakistan (east and west). The boundaries so demarcated are devoid of any natural and geographical features and continue to be afflicted with unsettled border disputes till date.<sup>8</sup> Sir Radcliff did not deal with the boundary of Jammu and Kashmir between India, and Pakistan because it was a princely state - not under British India and had the option of remaining independent. While the northern and southern limits of India's territory have remained fixed between the Himalayas and the Indian Ocean, the western and eastern boundaries have changed over the years.

The British became concerned like the Mughals with the need to secure the northern approaches to their Indian possessions. This explains Britain's fascination with

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<sup>6</sup> Surjit, Mansingh, “Introduction” *Geographic Setting in Historical Dictionary of India*; Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Lamb, Alistair (1992), *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990*, Oxford University Press; Karachi, pp. 103-104.

<sup>7</sup> Surjit, Mansingh, “Introduction” *Geographic Setting in Historical Dictionary of India*; Vikas Publishing House; New Delhi, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Lamb, Alistair (1992), *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990*, Oxford University Press; Karachi, pp. 103-104.

the great game and checkmating Russia's apprehended southward expansion to reach the warm waters of the Indian Ocean: it required an extension of Britain's sphere of influence across the geo-strategic barriers of the Himalayan and Hindukush mountain ranges. To implement this policy, the British created a system of buffer states in Persia, Afghanistan, Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan. Within these states they would not interfere, provided no other power did so<sup>9</sup>. H.L. Saxena comments that "the British established a defensive outpost at Gilgit, the key observation point, to exercise control over the Gilgit Agency, and look into the affairs of Central Asia and act against any hostile incursions from that direction."<sup>10</sup>

## **2.2 Geo-strategic Scenario of Today's India**

India faces a threat from all the countries with which it has its land borders, in one or the other form. The form of threat though varies from purely military to a combination of military and non-military. India has land borders with Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar and Bangladesh, out of which two are nuclear powers. Visualising security-scenario; Maj.Gen.(Retd), V.K. Madhok writes: "A report circulated by RAW states that visible Chinese presence can be noticed in Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh. Chinese goods transported on all-weather roads from Lhasa to Bhutan and Nepal and the latter's routes through Indian territories to Bangladesh have flooded their markets".<sup>11</sup> China's military and economic support to Pakistan and Myanmar in the form of nuclear and military assistance, development of airfields, roads and equipping the armies with Chinese-made weaponry, are issues which are of concern to India's national security and border management. China's support to the military junta against the movement of democracy in Myanmar led by Aung San Suu Kyi is an indication of the increase of influence of communism over democracy. The US and China are locked in a Cold War over Myanmar which is emerging as a battlefield of the future. Besides militarizing Myanmar, China has

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<sup>9</sup> Gordon, Sandy (1992), "Domestic Foundations of India's Security Policy" in Ross Babbage and Sandy Gordon, (eds.), *India's Strategic Future: Regional State or Global Power?*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.6.

<sup>10</sup> Lamb, Alistair (1992), *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, p. 17-19

<sup>11</sup> Madhok, V.K. (1998), "The Para Military Forces: Need for Merger and Reorganisation", *Repowering National Security*; Aditya Prakashan, Mumbai, No.20

been assisting in developing road networks, bridges and purchasing land. China's commercial goods have flooded Myanmar's markets. The country now occupies a vital slot in the strategic orbit of China. Maj. Gen. Madhok writes that events unfolding as above are the result of a subtle and well-planned initiative to encircle India by a nexus of China-Pakistan and Myanmar. They have done so by applying the concept of 'Engagement after Encirclement.'<sup>12</sup> The strategic encirclement extends from the Karakoram Highway, Aksai Chin, the Sino- Indian border and Myanmar down to the Bay of Bengal. By doing so, India's ability to threaten their borders has been diffused. India and Pakistan have fought four wars over the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. The recent scenario of a near war situation and forces being put in a state of highest alert on the western border are the biggest challenge to border management. The Jammu and Kashmir problem persists and the proxy war unleashed by Pakistan to wrest J&K continues.

### **2.3 Complex Nature of Borders**

India's international borders are a unique intermix of mountains, plains, deserts, riverine and jungle terrain with varying degree of habitation and ethnic mix residing as close as on the boundary itself and having relations across the border also. Except Punjab, most of the Border States are under-developed. They are also physically isolated from India in various degrees because of the relatively poor infrastructure of transport and communication. Culturally, most of the border regions are different from the core of the Indian union. Slow economic development has sharpened the border people's sense of alienation and demands for autonomy or self-determination. Such a mix of ethnic composition with similar language, culture, tradition, religion, etc cares little about the man-made artificial boundary. Another complexity of India's borders emanates from the fact that the boundaries are a mix of well recognized demarcations; Intelligence Bureau (IB), Line of Control (LoC), Line of Actual Control (LAC), Working boundary, The Actual Ground Position Line (AGPL), McMahon Line, Disputed Borders, etc. These border stretches are further complicated with states having problems of insurgency, terrorism, hostile neighbours, state-sponsored terrorism, among others, thus making the border a complex landscape to manage.

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<sup>12</sup> *ibid*

## **2.4 Internal Security Scenario**

India's internal scenario has grown very complex over the years. The states are now witnessing insurgency and separatist movements aided and abetted by external powers. Cross-border terrorism sponsored by the neighbour threatens the nation's integrity, fundamental government institutions and culture and values. Terrorism is sponsored to weaken India from within economically, militarily, politically and socially. Emergence of underworld and mafia networks with trans-border linkages has further added to the complex dimension of the internal security environment and caused serious internal disorder. Internal disorders are played upon and exploited by adversarial agencies (e.g. ISI).

Arguably, internal security is always inextricably linked to the external security and borders cannot be looked upon as a demarcation line which the defence forces and the central/Para-military forces have to guard and watch. The attack on India's Parliament saw mobilisation of forces on the western borders. A porous and disturbed borderland has serious adverse effects on border management. Maintenance of internal law and order is the constitutional responsibility of the states. State police forces are trained and equipped to deal with simple law and order problems but not adequately to deal with insurgency/terrorism-related problems.<sup>13</sup> Besides, State civil and armed police forces and their intelligence set up are too pre-occupied with the internal disorders.

## **2.5 Border Management**

Due to the inclination of India's neighbours to exploit India's vulnerabilities, the country's internal security challenges are inextricably linked with border management. Also, the challenge of coping with long-standing territorial and boundary disputes with China and Pakistan, combined with porous borders along some of the most difficult terrain in the world, has made extremely effective and efficient border management mandatory. However, in practice this has seldom been the case due to the lack of understanding of such military issues among the decision-making elite and inadequate interest in national security, particularly during the early years after independence. The

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<sup>13</sup> Jamwal, N.S.(2002), "Management of Land Borders" *Strategic Analysis*, 26(3), p.420.



BSF and some other forces are responsible for the management of Indian borders, and the charter of duties given to them entails prevention of infiltration and smuggling as also giving a sense of confidence to the people living on the borders. The forces have, over the years, developed a system of management that basically entails a static border post, regular patrols, ambushes, etc.<sup>14</sup> Despite several border wars and conflicts, India's borders continue to be manned by a large number of military, para-military and police forces, each of which has its own ethos, and each of which reports to a different central ministry at New Delhi, with almost no real co-ordination in managing the borders.<sup>15</sup> The employment of multiple forces results in problems of command and control as well as the lack of accountability for encroachments, poor intelligence and inept handling of local sensitivities.

Some experts termed Kargil war as an intelligence failure; others called it a system failure, if it was a system failure, then it is stated that the entire concept of border defence mechanism failed miserably in this sector.<sup>16</sup> The Group of Ministers Committee which was set up after the Kargil War for reforming the national security system has dealt with the issue of border management. According to its report, "the term border management must be interpreted in its widest sense and should imply co-ordination and concerted action by political leadership and administrative, diplomatic, security, intelligence, legal, regulatory and economic agencies of the country to secure our frontiers and sub-serve the best interests of the country. Looked at from this perspective, the management of borders presents many challenging problems"<sup>17</sup> According to Prakash Singh, former Director-General, Border Security Force: "Border management is a fluid concept in the sense that the level of security arrangements along a particular border would depend upon the political relations, the economic linkages, the ethno-religious ties

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<sup>14</sup>Jagat, Gurbachan(2002), "Problem of border management:Need for involving local population", *Opinion: The Tribune*, October 21, 2002, Chandigarh, [Online: Web] Accessed from 28-05-2009 ; URL: <http://www.tribuneindia.com/2002/20021021/edit.htm#3>.

<sup>15</sup>Kanwal, Gurmeet(2008),"India's Borders", *Unending Threats and Challenges*, 23(1), [Online: Web] Accessed 25-05-2009; URL:<http://www.indiandefencereview.com/2008/10/indias-borders.html>.

<sup>16</sup> Rappai, M. V.(1999)'Post-Kargil analysis: Need for border management mechanisms',*Strategic Analysis*, 23:6, p.1035

<sup>17</sup> Recommendations of the Group of Ministers, no. 1, pp. 58.

between people across the borders and the configuration of the border itself."<sup>18</sup> The Department of Border Management was created in the Ministry of Home Affairs in January, 2004 to pay focused attention to the issues relating to management of international land and coastal borders, strengthening of border policing and guarding, creation of infrastructure like roads, fencing and flood lighting of borders and implementation of Border Area Development Programme (BADP).<sup>19</sup>

Ideally, border management should be the responsibility of the Ministry of Home Affairs during peacetime. However, the active nature of the Line of Control (LoC) and the need to maintain troops close to the LAC in a state of readiness for operations in high altitude areas, have compelled the army to permanently deploy large forces for this task. While the BSF should be responsible for all settled borders, the responsibility for unsettled and disputed borders, such as the Line of Control (LoC) in J&K and the Line of Actual Control (LAC) on the Indo-Tibetan border, should be that of the Indian Army. The principle of "single point control" must be followed if the borders are to be effectively managed.<sup>20</sup> "Single point control" means "one force at one point of region." Here, argument is that one particular force, guarding particular point of region has become able to gain experience and knowledge about the area which is much beneficial to make strategies for security of the borders. Divided responsibilities never result in effective control.<sup>21</sup> Despite sharing the responsibility with several para-military and police forces, the army's commitment for border management amounts to six divisions along the Line of Actual Control (LAC), the Line of Control (LoC) and the AGPL (Actual Ground Position Line along the Salto Ridge west of Siachen Glacier) in J&K and five divisions along the LAC and the Myanmar border in the eastern sector.<sup>22</sup> This is a massive commitment that is costly in terms of manpower as well as funds, as the deployment areas are mostly in high altitude terrain, and needs to be reduced gradually.

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<sup>18</sup> Singh, Prakash, "Border Management", *BSF Journal*, BSF Academy Tekanpur, Gwalior, July 2001, p.11.

<sup>19</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India ;Chapter-III,p.28

<sup>20</sup> Kanwal, Gurmeet (2008) "India's Borders"; *Unending Threats and Challenges*, 23(1), [Online: Web] Accessed 25-05-2009; URL:<http://www.indiandefencereview.com/2008/10/indias-borders.html>.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid*

<sup>22</sup> Vasudeva, P. K. (2000) "Reorganising the Defence Set-up", *Tribune*, November 27, 2000.

The real pay off of a rapprochement with the Chinese would be the possibility of reducing the army's deployment on the LAC. To some extent, the advances in surveillance technology, particularly satellite and aerial imagery, can help to maintain a constant vigil along the LAC and make it possible to reduce physical deployment as and when modern surveillance assets can be provided on a regular basis to the formations deployed forward. Similarly, the availability of a larger number of helicopter units will enhance the quality of aerial surveillance and the ability to move troops to quickly occupy defensive positions when it becomes necessary. However, these are both costly ventures and need to be viewed in the overall context of the availability of funds for modernisation.<sup>23</sup>

In the management of the international borders, a critical role is played by the border guarding forces. At present no distinction is made between the various central police forces such as the Border Security Force (BSF), the Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP) and the Assam Rifles (AR) which are the border guarding forces on the one hand and the central paramilitary and police forces such as the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), the Railway Protection Force (RPF) and the Central Industrial Security Force (CISF) on the other.<sup>24</sup> Since the roles of these two categories of the forces are distinctly different, such a distinction is necessary. This would also imply that the border guarding forces, which are more akin to the army, will have to be put on a different footing in all respects such as their recruitment, training, weaponry, allowances and so on.

The nomination of the CRPF as the national level counter-insurgency force enabled the other Central para-military forces (CPMFs) like BSF and ITBP to return to their primary role of better border management, as had been recommended by the Task Force on Border Management that was constituted by the Group of Ministers (GoM) formed to review major issues pertaining to the management of national security after the Kargil

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<sup>23</sup> Kumar, Bharat (2003), "Border Surveillance: Can Technology Help?" *The United Service Institution of India Magazine Article: Oct-Dec-2003*, [Online: Web] Accessed 17.06.2009; URL: [http://www.usiofindia.org/article\\_oct\\_dec03\\_9.htm](http://www.usiofindia.org/article_oct_dec03_9.htm).

<sup>24</sup> "Para military forces: India's security Frankenstein", *An IDC Analysis* (2003), [Online: Web] Accessed 22.07.2009; URL: <http://www.indiadefence.com/PMF.htm>.

conflict.<sup>25</sup> The task force was led by Madhav Godbole, former Home Secretary and had made several far-reaching recommendations. It had recommended that all para-military forces managing unsettled borders should operate directly under the control of the army, there should be lateral induction from the army to the para-military forces so as to enhance their operational effectiveness and had suggested several perceptive measures for better intelligence coordination.<sup>26</sup> The task force studied steps needed to improve border management and suggested measures for appropriate force structures and procedures to deal with the entry of narcotics, illegal migrants, terrorists and arms. It also examined measures to establish closer linkages with the border population to protect them from subversive propaganda to prevent unauthorised settlements and to initiate special developmental programmes.<sup>27</sup>

The government has prepared framework for the fencing of the Indo-Pakistan and Indo-Bangladesh border and has initiated work on it. However, in some areas the effectiveness and efficacy of the fencing has been considerably diluted due to certain factors. One of the primary reasons is the fact that human habitation or cultivation of land extends right up to the border. In some villages along the Indo-Bangladesh border the boundary line runs in the middle of the village! Urgent steps need to be taken to sanitise the area between the fence and the border and to acquire all land and houses beyond the fence and up to the border, except in cases where there is an open border as in the case of the Indo-Nepal border. Unless expeditious action is taken in this behalf, border guarding will continue to pose insuperable problems.<sup>28</sup>

As compared to the land borders, the long coastline of the country is left comparatively unguarded. The Indian coastline is about 7517 km, about 5423 km along the mainland and 2094 km the Andaman and Nicobar Nicobar, and Lakshadweep

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<sup>25</sup> *Report of the Group of Ministers on National Security*, [Online: Web] Accessed 02.03.2009; URL: [mod.nic.in/newadditions/chapter-i.pdf](http://mod.nic.in/newadditions/chapter-i.pdf).

<sup>26</sup> Vasudeva, P. K. (2000) "Reorganising the Defence Set-up", *Tribune*, November 27, 2000

<sup>27</sup> "Internal Security and Border Management", *PIB Press Release*, [Online: Web] Accessed 04.04.2009; URL: [pib.nic.in/archieve/lreng/lyr2000/rjun2000/r13062000.html](http://pib.nic.in/archieve/lreng/lyr2000/rjun2000/r13062000.html).

<sup>28</sup> *Details of Department of Border management Division on the website of Ministry of Home Affairs*; [Online: Web] Accessed 18.06.2009; URL: [http://mha.nic.in/pdfs/BM\\_Fenc\(E\).pdf](http://mha.nic.in/pdfs/BM_Fenc(E).pdf).

Islands.<sup>29</sup> Coastline of Indian mainland is surrounded by Arabian Sea in the west, Bay of Bengal in the east, and Indian Ocean in the south. The long coast line of India is dotted with several major ports such as Kandla, Mumbai, Navasheva, Mangalore, Cochin, Chennai, Tuticorin, Vishakapatnam, and Paradip. For the effective defence of Indian Coastline, a separate force known as Indian Coast Guard was formed on February 1, 1977.<sup>30</sup>

The presence of the Coast Guard is minimal. There is a convincing case for substantially strengthening the Coast Guard. Further, Coast Guard does not operate right up to the coast and does not have police powers for the crimes committed on the coast. These responsibilities have to be necessarily shouldered by the state police. Based on the recommendations of the task force, the Group of Ministers has therefore rightly recommended the setting up of marine police in all coastal states.<sup>31</sup>

The recommendations of the task force were accepted by the GoM. While some action has been taken, clearly much more needs to be done to make border management more effective.<sup>32</sup> The infiltration of armed mercenary terrorists from Pakistan, mass migrations from Bangladesh into lower Assam, the smuggling of consumer goods and fake Indian currency from Nepal, the operations of ULFA militants from safe hideouts in Bhutan and the sanctuaries available to the insurgent groups of the north-eastern states in Myanmar and Bangladesh, have all added to India's border security problems. These are only a few of the multifarious challenges facing the country in its border management and bring out the complexities involved therein. Any meaningful border management needs to be backed by strong political will and commitment from the ruling, elite that, any violation of the border will be met with an adequate response.

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<sup>29</sup> *Current Science*, Vol. 91, No. 4, 25 Aug 2006, p.531.

<sup>30</sup> "Length of Coastline of India" [Online: Web] Accessed 09.04.2009; URL:<http://www.thecolorsofindia.com/interesting-facts/geography/length-of-coastline-of-india.html>.

<sup>31</sup> Godbole, Madhav, "Management of India's International Borders: Some Challenges Ahead", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36 (48) 4444.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid*

### **2.5.1 Challenges to Border Management in India**

Border management assumes importance as borders control some of the important passes and strategic heights important for the security of the nation. Border management is a function of a country's external and the internal situations, as well as their interplay with each other. Both the external and internal environments are changing at an incredibly fast pace, with developments in nuclear weapons and missiles, increasing cross-border terrorism, the emergence of non-state actors, the growth of Islamic fundamentalism, the narcotics-arms nexus, illegal migration and left wing extremism, gravely impacting upon the security of the country and thus posing a challenge to border management. The dynamic nature of the problems concerning management of borders is brought out by the manner in which the sensitivity of the Indo-Nepal and Indo-Bhutan borders have changed over a period of time.

### **2.5.2 Un-demarcated Borders**

One of the important elements in the management of international borders is their delimitation and demarcation on the ground<sup>33</sup>. India has an un-demarcated border with China, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The problem of the un-demarcated border is more acute in the case of Pakistan and China. India (1947) and China (1949) attained independence almost at the same time. Disputes on alignment of borders and other border problems which are continuing since then are nowhere near resolution. On the ground even alignment of the Line of Actual Control (LAC, first stage) with China is yet to be agreed upon. India and China fought a war (1962) over the alignment of the border. China illegally occupied about 38,000 sq. kilometres of our territory in Aksai Chin besides about 5,180 sq. kilometres of Indian Territory ceded by Pakistan to China. What is even more unfortunate is, China has yet to recognize Sikkim as an Indian state and it lays claim to 90,000 sq. kilometres of territory in Arunachal Pradesh.<sup>34</sup> On the Indian side, the development of infrastructure, particularly roads and communications is inadequate to meet the Chinese threat in the near future. China is in the process of modernization of its

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<sup>33</sup> Godbole, Madhav, "Management of India's International Borders: Some Challenges Ahead", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36 (48) 4442.

<sup>34</sup> Sali, M. L. (1998), *India-China border dispute: a case study of the eastern sector*, APH Publishing, p.83

armed forces which it intends to achieve by 2010 and a militarily strong China would be more difficult to negotiate with.<sup>35</sup> Pakistan continues to illegally occupy Kashmir (POK) and lays its claim over the whole state of Jammu and Kashmir and hence does not recognize even the international border (IB) in the Jammu sector. It also lays its claim over some of the areas in Sir Creek in Gujarat. Unsolved border disputes with Pakistan in the areas of Sir Creek in Gujarat, the LoC in J&K, the Actual Ground Position Line (AGPL) portion in Siachen are the outstanding issues between India and Pakistan on boundary demarcations. There is about 6.5 kilometres of area with Bangladesh (Daikhata, Muhuri River, and Lalthitilla-Dumabari) which is un-demarcated.<sup>36</sup>

Un-demarcated areas continue to remain a source of tension and pose a hindrance towards normalisation of relations between two nations. Unfortunately, large portions of the land borders and maritime boundaries remain to be demarcated. This is particularly true in respect of India-China and Indo-Pakistan borders. The problem is less pronounced in respect of the other land borders though there has been a major incident on the Indo-Bangladesh border due to dispute regarding its non-demarcation.<sup>37</sup> Since many of Indian borders are man-made artificial boundaries and not based on natural features such as rivers, water-sheds, etc, they are extremely porous and easy to cross. The Group of Ministers has recognised the importance of this matter and has recommended that concerted action needs to be initiated at the earliest to take up demarcation on the ground of India's land boundaries and the settlement of maritime borders with its neighbours urgently. It is further recommended that, for this purpose, an official-level standing steering committee may be set up. Apart from the representatives of the concerned central ministries, the concerned state government may also be represented thereon. A Group of Ministers, specially appointed for the purpose; may periodically and at least once in a quarter review the progress of work in this behalf.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Blasko, Dennis J. (2005), "Military Review" September-October 2005, p.70.

<sup>36</sup> The Minister of State for External Affairs, Shri E. Ahamed in Rajya Sabha, [Online: Web] Accessed 13.03.2009; URL: <http://pib.nic.in/release/release.asp?relid=10919>.

<sup>37</sup> Jamwal, N. S. (2004) "Border Management: Dilemma of Guarding the India-Bangladesh Border" *Strategic Analysis*, 28(1), Jan-Mar 2004, p.5.

<sup>38</sup> Government of India, Reforming the National Security System: Recommendations of the Group of Ministers, February 2001.p.61.

### **2.5.3 Illegal Migration**

The problem of illegal migration is more prevalent on Indo-Bangladesh border. Bangladesh having a common land border of 4,096 kilometres with the Indian states of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Tripura and West Bengal, has a high population growth rate and adds 2.8 million people per year.<sup>39</sup> A report on illegal migration into Assam, submitted to the President of India by the Governor of Assam in November 1998 mentions the factors contributing to migration: At the time of independence and the liberation war, illegal migration was due to communal/ religious factors. However, during the last 30 years, other factors have come into play namely: (a) search for better economic conditions, (b) pressure on land in Bangladesh on account of high density of population, (c) Bangladeshis provide cheap source of labour, (d) influx of illegal immigrants suits the local political parties who view them as potential vote banks (e) cultural and ethnic affinity and (f) porous borders.<sup>40</sup> Illegal migration has added to the economic burdens of the bordering states like West Bengal and other north-eastern states due to increased pressure on land, denuding of forests and undercutting of wages by migrants resulting in unemployment and friction/tensions among the locals. More importantly, continuous inflow of illegal Bangladeshi migrants to India threatens the very demographic pattern of the eastern and north-eastern parts of the country. According to the Group of Ministers report, there are approximately 15 million Bangladeshi nationals who have migrated illegally to India and settled at as far as Mumbai, Delhi etc.<sup>41</sup>

### **2.5.4 Migrations through Indian Borders - Post-independence**

Approximately 35 to 40 million people have moved across national boundaries in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal since 1947 as rejected people or unwanted migrants. The following are some of the major flows within South Asia. They

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<sup>39</sup>Jamwal, N. S. (2004) "Border Management: Dilemma of Guarding the India-Bangladesh Border" *Strategic Analysis*, 28(1), Jan-Mar 2004, p.5.

<sup>40</sup> Sinha, S.K. (1998), *Report on Illegal Migration into Assam: Submitted to the President of India by The Governor of Assam*.

<sup>41</sup> Government of India, *Reforming the National Security System: Recommendations of the Group of Ministers*, February 2001.p.63.



can be categorized into three types - rejected peoples, political refugees from repressive regimes, and unwanted migrants.<sup>42</sup>

- **Indo-Pak Refugees flow (1947-48):** Estimated 6 to 7 million Muslims moved from India to Pakistan and nearly 8 million Hindus and Sikhs moved from Pakistan to India.<sup>43</sup>
- **Exodus of Burmese Indians:** In 1948, 1949 and 1960 approximately 1, 50,000 Indians moved from Myanmar to India.<sup>44</sup>
- **Exodus of Sri Lankan Indians and Sri Lankan Tamils:** Approximately 1,25,000 persons had moved to India (Sri Lankan Tamils) by 1986.<sup>45</sup>
- **Flight of Chakmas from Bangladesh into India:** By the end of 1981, 40,000 Chakma refugees were settled in Tripura and Mizoram.<sup>46</sup>
- **Bangladeshis to India (Liberation of Bangladesh):** In 1971, nearly 9 million Bengalis crossed the border into West Bengal, Assam, Tripura. Most of them returned and a few stayed back.<sup>47</sup>
- **Tibetans to India:** By 1950 a little less than 1, 00,000 Tibetans fled to India.
- **Bangladeshis to India:** Approximately 15 million Bangladesh nationals have moved into India since independence and settled in different parts of India.
- **Nepal and India:** An estimated 25,000 Bhutanese of Nepali origin fled to West Bengal by 1990.
- **Bangladeshis to Assam:** An estimated 1 to 2 million Bangladesh nationals moved into Assam from 1971 to 1981.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Weiner, Myron (1993), "Rejected Peoples and Unwanted Migrants in South-Asia", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 30(1), p.1543.

<sup>43</sup> "Census of India", (1), Part II-A, D-IV, Migrants, 1951.

<sup>44</sup> Chakravarti, N.R. (1971), "The Indian Minority in Burma", Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

<sup>45</sup> Chattopadhyaya, Haraprasad (1979), "Indians in Sri Lanka", O P S Publishers, Calcutta.

<sup>46</sup> Ahsan, Syed Aziz-Al and Bhumitra Chakma (1989), "Problems of National Integration in Bangladesh: The Chittagong Hill Tracts", *Asian Survey*, 29(10).

<sup>47</sup> Sisson, Richard, and Leo E Rose (1990), "War and Secession: Pakistan, India, and the Creation of Bangladesh", University of California Press, Berkeley.

<sup>48</sup> *ibid*

### **2.5.5 Infiltration/Ex-filtration of Armed Militants**

Since independence India has been a victim of insurgency/terrorism aided and abetted by external powers. The North-East, Punjab and J&K have experienced insurgency on a large scale and suffered casualties and damages of disproportionate magnitude. Insurgency in one or the other form is likely to remain in the Indian subcontinent. Latest weaponry, equipment, means of communication, funds, etc, available to the militants adds a global dimension to insurgency and poses a challenge to the security forces. Continuous deployment of forces to fight militancy affects the morale of troops, causes excessive wear and tear of weapons and equipment, lowers the operational efficiency, diverts from the primary job and is a burden on the national exchequer. Infiltration by terrorist groups including foreign mercenaries through LoC and IB is a routine affair.<sup>49</sup> Porous borders are a constant threat to the forces guarding the border and add extra tension to the troops and demand tougher measures to be adopted on the borders. Punjab and Kashmir militants use the western border extensively for crossing over to and from Pakistan. The Naga gangs since the early 1950s would cross over to the Somra tract in Burma and travel to East Pakistan for supplies of arms and ammunition. Later, they even went to the province of China through the Burmese territory. The Mizo rebels had no difficulty in crossing over to what was then East Pakistan. The ULFA is estimated to have sent about 300 personnel to Burma between 1982 and 1986 for training.<sup>50</sup>

### **2.5.6 Enclaves and Adverse Possession**

The problems of Enclaves, adverse possession and disputed land are prevalent on the Indo-Bangladesh border. Enclaves are independent states or exclaves of a neighbouring country that perforate the host country. These become convenient points for

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<sup>49</sup> Ehasan, Mir (2006), "Movement of militants across LoC on the rise" *Indian Express*, 3 July, 2006; [Online: Web] Accessed 09.07.2009; URL: <http://www.expressindia.com/news/fullstory.php?newsid=70342>.

<sup>50</sup> Hussain, Wasbir, "Insurgency in India's Northeast Cross-border Links and Strategic Alliances" [Online: Web] Accessed 03.03.2009; URL: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/publication/faultlines/volume17/wasbir.htm>.

smuggling, avoiding customs and excise duties, for the importation of contraband, and as a point of entry for illegal aliens.<sup>51</sup> There are 111 Indian enclaves (17,158 acres) in Bangladesh and 51 Bangladeshi enclaves (7,110.02 acres) in India.<sup>52</sup> Adverse possession means land belonging to one country under the control of another; e.g., Indian land under Bangladesh and vice-versa. There are 34 places (2,892.31 acres) of Indian land under adverse possession of Bangladesh and 40 places (2,251.66 acres) of Bangladesh land under adverse possession of India.<sup>53</sup> The Land Border Agreement of 1974 provides for the exchange of enclaves and settlement of the issue of adverse possession. A joint, working group has been constituted to solve the border related issues. India has been insisting on a joint census of the enclaves before these are exchanged, but Bangladesh has not agreed to the suggestion yet.<sup>54</sup>

### **2.5.7 Drug Trafficking and Smuggling**

Geographically, India lies between the world's two major opium producing regions the Golden Crescent and the Golden Triangle. This has made it extremely vulnerable to trafficking in drugs. The key elements of the drug trafficking situation in India with reference, particularly, to our land borders and coastline are:<sup>55</sup>

- The smuggling of heroin across the Indo-Pak border in J&K, Punjab, Rajasthan and Gujarat.
- The smuggling of heroin from Myanmar into our north-eastern states, particularly Manipur and Mizoram.
- The movement of heroin across the Indo-Bangladesh border from India to Bangladesh.

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<sup>51</sup> Griggs, Richard A. Boundaries, "Borders and Peace-building in Southern Africa: The Spatial Implications of the 'African Renaissance'", *Boundary and Territory Briefings*. 2000. 3 (2) 8.

<sup>52</sup> Erkelens, Christine (2007) "Improving the living conditions in the enclaves near the India-Bangladesh border" *General Assembly, Special Political and Decolonisation (4th) Committee reports*; [Online: Web] Accessed 15.03.2009 URL: [http://lemun.org/reports/GA4\\_India\\_Pakistan.pdf](http://lemun.org/reports/GA4_India_Pakistan.pdf).

<sup>53</sup> *ibid*

<sup>54</sup> Singh, Prakash (2001), "Border Management" *BSF Journal*, BSF Academy Tekanpur, Gwalior, July 2001.p.12.

<sup>55</sup> Jamwal, N.S. (2002), "Management of Land Borders" *Strategic Analysis*, 26(3), p.418.

- The smuggling of ephedrine and pseudo-ephedrine from India across the Indo-Myanmar border.
- The trafficking of hashish and marijuana from Nepal into India through the Indo-Nepal border, in the states of Bihar and UP.
- Sri Lankan ports are increasingly being used as transit points for drug trafficking through India to other destinations.

The insurgency in Kashmir has been funded by Pakistan with the drugs money. The Geo-political Drug Despatch of July 1997 mentioned that the ISI used drug money to finance no less than ten fundamentalist organizations operating in Kashmir.<sup>56</sup> The Sikh terrorists in Punjab had struck an unholy alliance with the drug traffickers of South-West Asia. There were several instances of consignments on the Indo-Pak border containing narcotics as well as arms and ammunition being seized by the Border Security Force. The traffickers, in several cases, confessed that they were allowed to smuggle narcotics across the border on the specific condition that they would take a consignment of weapons to be delivered to the terrorists in India.<sup>57</sup> Economic and developmental disparity vis-a-vis countries bordering India has resulted in widespread smuggling of goods and items.

### **2.5.8 Withdrawal of Border Guarding Forces for Duties Elsewhere**

Border guarding forces have frequently been withdrawn from borders to combat low intensity conflict in J&K, insurgency in the North-East and terrorism in Punjab. They have also been withdrawn many a time to deal with law and order problems, elections, naxalite problem, etc. Taking note of repeated withdrawals, the Group of Ministers have recommended in its report that "it is imperative that forces guarding the border are not deployed in the states to deal with internal disturbances, law and order duties and counter-insurgency operations. Withdrawal of forces guarding the border for such duties limits their capabilities to guard the borders effectively."<sup>58</sup> Gujarat Riots saw border

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<sup>56</sup> Singh, Prakash(2001), " Border Management" *BSF Journal*, BSF Academy Tekanpur, Gwalior, July 2001.p.12.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid*

<sup>58</sup> Recommendations of the Group of Ministers, no. 1.

guarding forces being deployed on large scale for maintenance of law and order. These withdrawals seriously affect the border guarding and leave borders porous and vulnerable.

## **2.6 Policy and Implementation**

India's national security environment is determined by a complex interplay of its geographical attributes, historical legacy, and socio-economic circumstances as well as regional and global developments. India is the seventh largest country in the world with a land area of 3.2 million square kilometres, a land boundary of 15,000 kilometres, peninsular coastline of 7700 kilometres, 600 island territories and an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 2.5 million square kilometres. Some of the island territories in the east are 1300 kilometres away from the mainland and virtually adjacent to India's ASEAN neighbours. India shares land borders with seven countries including Bangladesh (4096 kms), China (3439 kms), Pakistan (3325 kms) and Myanmar (1643 kms) and maritime borders with five countries.<sup>59</sup>

As a part of the strategy to secure the borders as also to create infrastructure in the border areas of the country, several initiatives have been undertaken by the Department of Border Management. These include expeditious construction of fencing, floodlighting and roads along Indo-Pakistan and Indo-Bangladesh borders, action for development of Integrated Check Posts (ICPs) at various locations on the International Borders of the country, construction of strategic roads along India-China, Indo-Nepal and Indo-Bhutan borders. In addition, various developmental works in the border areas have been undertaken by the Department under the BADP as a part of the comprehensive approach to border management.<sup>60</sup>

### **2.6.1 Fencing and flood lighting of Borders**

Vigil along the International Borders is very crucial, fencing and flood lighting of the border are important constituents of maintaining vigilance along the borders. In order

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<sup>59</sup> Defence Ministry Annual Report: 2006-2007, p.02.

<sup>60</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India Chapter-III, p.28.

to curb infiltration, smuggling and other anti-national activities from across Indo-Pakistan and Indo-Bangladesh borders, the Government have undertaken the work of construction of fencing, flood lighting and roads along these borders.<sup>61</sup>

### **2.6.2 Indo-Bangladesh Border (IBB)**

The Indian side of the Indo-Bangladesh border passes through West Bengal (2216.7 Km), Assam (263 Km), Meghalaya (443 Km), Tripura (856 Km) and Mizoram (318 Km). The entire stretch consists of plain, reverine, hilly/jungle and with hardly any natural obstacles. The area is heavily populated, and the cultivation is carried out till the last inch of the border.<sup>62</sup>

The Indo-Bangladesh border is marked by a high degree of porosity and checking illegal cross border activities has been a challenging proposition. The main problem is of illegal migration from Bangladesh into India. In order to prevent illegal immigration and other anti-national activities from across the border, the Government of India had sanctioned the construction of border roads and fencing in two phases. The total length of Indo-Bangladesh border to be fenced is 3286.87 Km out of which 2590.15 Km of fencing has so far been completed. In addition, 3295.66 Km of border roads have also been constructed out of sanctioned length of 3663 Km.<sup>63</sup>

### **2.6.3 Floodlighting**

A pilot project of 277 Km of floodlighting in West Bengal Sector was sanctioned in 2004-05. The project has been completed in the year 2006-07 at a cost of Rs.91 crores and has proved to be helpful in controlling the illegal cross border activities in those stretches. In order to enhance the operational effectiveness of the border guarding force, the Government have decided to provide floodlighting in the States of West Bengal, Meghalaya, Assam, Mizoram and Tripura in a length of 2840 Km at a total cost of

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<sup>61</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India Chapter-III, p.3.

<sup>62</sup> Dr. Altaf Jalil (2004), Northeast India-Bangladesh Initiatives Map; prepared for South Asia Enterprise Development Facility (SEDF), p.11.

<sup>63</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India CHAPTER-III, p.3

Rs.1327.77 crores. The work is like to start shortly and scheduled to be completed by the year 2011-12.<sup>64</sup>

#### **2.6.4 Development of Integrated Check Posts**

Existing infrastructure available with Customs, Immigration and other regulatory agencies at the entry points of our land borders is generally inadequate. Support facilities like warehouses, parking lots, banks, hotels etc. are also either inadequate or absent. All regularly and support functions are generally not available in one complex. Even when located in close proximity, there is no single agency responsible for coordinated functioning of various government authorities/service providers. To redress this situation, Government has approved setting up of Integrated Check Posts (ICPs) at major entry points on the land borders of the country. These ICPs would house all regulatory agencies like immigration, customs, border security etc. together with support facilities like parking, warehousing, banking, hotels etc. in a single equipped with all modern amenities. A total of 13 ICPs are proposed to be constructed on our borders with Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Myanmar.<sup>65</sup>

#### **2.6.5 Setting up of Land Ports Authority of India**

The Land Ports Authority of India (LPAI), proposed to be constituted through a statute, will provide better administration and cohesive management of ICPs and would be vested with powers on the lines of similar bodies like Airports Authority of India. A Note on LPAI Bill came up for consideration of the Cabinet on 3rd July, 2008. The LPAI Bill is expected to be introduced in the monsoon session of Parliament for its enactment.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> *PIB Press Release*; [Online: Web] Accessed 04.03.2009; URL: [http://pib.nic.in/release/rel\\_print\\_page.asp?relid=16568](http://pib.nic.in/release/rel_print_page.asp?relid=16568).

<sup>65</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India Chapter-III, p.8.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid*

### **2.6.6 Construction of Roads of Operational Significance in Border Areas along India-China Border**

To redress the situation arising out of poor road connectivity which has hampered the operational capability of the Border Guarding Forces deployed along the India-China border, the Government has decided to undertake phase-wise construction of 27 road links totaling 608 Km in the border areas along the India-China border in the States of Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh at an estimated cost of Rs.912.00 crores.<sup>67</sup>

### **2.6.7 Management of India-Nepal and India-Bhutan Borders**

The status of and the arrangements for the 1751 Km long India-Nepal International Border, are governed by bilateral treaties. The India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1950, grants equal opportunities to the nationals of either country in matters of employment, residence, property ownership and participation in trade and commerce.<sup>68</sup> India shares 699 Km of its border with Bhutan. Like the India-Nepal border, the India-Bhutan also has a free movement regime for Indian and Bhutanese nationals. This openness has been exploited in the past by Indian Insurgent Groups. In order to check the anti-national activities and to improve security along India-Nepal and India-Bhutan borders and, Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) has been inducted as the Border Guarding Force on these borders.<sup>69</sup>

### **2.6.8 Construction of roads of operational significance along India-Nepal and India-Bhutan borders**

The Government proposes to undertake the construction of approximately 1200 Km of roads of operational significance to Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) and India-Nepal and India- Bhutan borders in the States of Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Assam. Construction of these roads will enhance the capability of SSB to effectively manage the

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<sup>67</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India; Chapter-III, p.11.

<sup>68</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India Chapter-III, p.13.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid*



borders. The proposal is at a conceptual stage and discussions are being held with the States Governments concerned to finalize the project proposals.<sup>70</sup>

### **2.6.9 Coastal Security**

A Coastal Security Scheme has been formulated for strengthening infrastructure for patrolling and surveillance of country's coastal areas, particularly the shallow areas close to coast to check and counter illegal cross border activities and criminal activities using coast or sea. The scheme is being implemented in all the 9 coastal States (Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal) and 4 Union Territories (Puducherry, Lakshadweep, Daman & Diu and Andaman & Nicobar Islands) from the year 2005-06. Under the scheme, assistance has been given to the coastal States and Union Territories to set up 73 coastal police stations which will be equipped with 204 boats, 153 jeeps and 312 motor cycles for mobility on coast and in close coastal waters. The coastal police stations are proposed to have a marine police with personnel trained in maritime activities. A lump-sum assistance of Rs.10 lakh per police station is to be given for equipment, computer, furniture etc. Assistance is to be given to the States and UTs to meet the cost of fuel, maintenance and repairs of the boats for 5 years.<sup>71</sup>

Though under the Home Ministry's much-touted coastal security scheme, as many as 73 coastal police stations were sanctioned in the nine coastal states and four union territories, but only 50 such police stations have become operational. These police stations have been provided with boats, jeeps and motor cycles to enhance their operational fitness and boost their mobility.<sup>72</sup>

### **2.6.10 Border Area Development Programme**

The Border Area Development Programme (BADP) is part of the comprehensive approach to the Border Management with focus on socioeconomic development of the border areas and to promote a sense of security amongst the people living there. The programme was started during the 7th Plan with the objective of balanced development of sensitive border areas in the western region through adequate provision of

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<sup>70</sup> *ibid*

<sup>71</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India Chapter-III, p.14.

<sup>72</sup> Rao, Radhakrishna (2008), *India's Coastal Security*; [Online: Web] Accessed 02.04.2009; URL:<http://www.indiastrategic.in/topstories231.htm>.

infrastructural facilities. The Programme has been subsequently extended to states bordering Bangladesh, Myanmar, China, Bhutan and Nepal and it now covers 362 border blocks of 94 districts of seventeen (17) States, which share international land border with neighbouring countries.<sup>73</sup>

BADP is a 100% centrally funded programme. The main objective of the programme is to meet the special developmental needs of the people living in remote and inaccessible areas situated near the International border. The schemes/works like construction/maintenance of roads, water supply, education, sports, filling gaps in infrastructure, security, organization of early childhood care and education centre, education for physically handicapped and backward Sections etc. are to be undertaken under the BADP. Preference is given to the villages/habitations which are closer to the border line.<sup>74</sup>

#### **2.6.11 Guidelines of BADP**

Under the Border Area Development Programme (BADP), funds are allocated by the Planning Commission annually which are re-allocated to the Border States taking into consideration (i) length of International Border (Km); (ii) Population of the border block and (iii) Area of the border block (Sq. Km) Weightage of 15% over and above the total allocation is also given to States having hilly/desert/kuchchh areas.<sup>75</sup> The funds are additive to normal Central assistance and are allocated for addressing the special problems faced by the people of the border areas. Schemes/works to be undertaken under BADP are finalized and approved by the State Level Screening Committee (SLSC) headed by the Chief Secretary of the concerned State and executed by the agencies of the State Government. Security related schemes can be taken up under BADP but the expenditure on such schemes should not exceed 10% of the total allocation in a particular

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<sup>73</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India Chapter-III, p.17.

<sup>74</sup> Ministry of Home Affairs, Department of Border Management; Border Area Development Programme - Revised Guidelines (April, 2005), [Online: Web] Accessed 07.04.2009; URL: <http://www.pbplanning.gov.in/pdf/badpguideline1.pdf>.

<sup>75</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India CHAPTER-III, p.17.

year. The funds under BADP are to be used for schemes in the identified border blocks only.<sup>76</sup>

#### **2.6.12 Monitoring mechanisms and review of BADP works**

Implementation of BADP, in terms of physical and financial achievements, is being monitored regularly in the Department of Border Management. The State Governments are also closely monitoring the implementation of works/schemes being undertaken under BADP. The inspection of the works is also being carried out by the officers of the Department of Border Management to ensure quality and timely completion of the works.<sup>77</sup>

#### **2.6.13 Empowered Committee**

An Empowered Committee under the chairmanship of Secretary, Border Management has been constituted to examine various aspects relating to scope of the Programme, its execution, prescription of geographical limits, allocation of funds etc.<sup>78</sup>

#### **2.6.14 Task Force on BADP**

A Task Force was constituted under the chairmanship of Shri B.N. Yugandhar, Member, Planning Commission, for revamping the Border Area Development Programme.<sup>79</sup> The above Task Force submitted its report. In accordance with the recommendations of the Task Force, guidelines of BADP have been revised. The new guidelines emphasized the need for participatory planning, convergence of all Centrally Sponsored Schemes with BADP funds, filling up critical gaps in infrastructure, providing livelihood opportunities. The revised guidelines also give importance to building

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<sup>76</sup> *ibid*

<sup>77</sup> *ibid*

<sup>78</sup> Empowered committee discusses revised guidelines for BADP; [Online: Web] Accessed 06.03.2009; URL:[http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/india-news/empowered-committee-discusses-revised-guidelines-for-badp\\_10048333.html](http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/india-news/empowered-committee-discusses-revised-guidelines-for-badp_10048333.html).

<sup>79</sup> *ibid*

administrative capacity and monitoring and inspection.<sup>80</sup> In the new guidelines, emphasis has been given for monitoring and review of the programme. Following provisions have been made on monitoring, review and inspection of BADP works<sup>81</sup>:

#### **2.6.15 Provisions for Monitoring, Review and Inspection of BADP**

- (i) The State Government would closely monitor the implementation of the works/schemes being undertaken under BADP. States must carry out inspections from time to time so as to ensure quality and timely completion of the works. The reports of the inspections carried out by the officers of the State Government should be sent to the Ministry of Home Affairs on quarterly basis.
- (ii) Periodical monitoring of the schemes in the Department of Border Management will be done and a review of the programme will be made at least twice a year by the Empowered Committee.
- (iii) Quarterly progress reports should be submitted scheme-wise to the Department of Border Management giving actual physical and financial achievements. The quarterly progress reports should be sent as soon as possible latest by 15th day of closure of the quarter so as to enable Department of Border Management to recommend the release of Special Central Assistance. The year-wise consolidated utilization certificates should be sent within one month of the closure of the financial year.
- (iv) Besides, monitoring and reporting of the programme, inspection plays a pivotal role. Programme monitoring system should be institutionalized. Each border block should be assigned to a high-ranking State Government Nodal Officer who should regularly visit the block and take responsibility for BADP schemes. The District Magistrates should also inspect the projects being carried out in their district from time to time. Reports of the Nodal Officers of the State Government and inspection reports of other officials should be sent

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<sup>80</sup> Ministry of Home Affairs, Department of Border Management; Border Area Development Programme - Revised Guidelines (April, 2005), [Online: Web] Accessed 07.04.2009; URL: <http://www.pbplanning.gov.in/pdf/badpguideline1.pdf>.

<sup>81</sup> *ibid*

to Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs (Department of Border Management).

- (v) The inspection of few big projects would also be carried out by the officers of Government of India, Department of Border Management as and when considered necessary.

## **Chapter-III**

# **India-Pakistan Border: Nature of Challenges**

India shares two kinds of boundaries with Pakistan; one being the international border that is not violated by either side while the other is the Line of Control (LoC) which is around 700 kilometres in length and the scene of constant infiltration by terrorists and Pakistan army regulars. There is also a stretch of 199 kilometres in the Kutch sector which has not been demarcated which facilitates intrusion and infiltration.<sup>1</sup> The India - Pakistan borders, both *de jure* and *de facto*, can be divided into two distinct segments- the southern line and the northern line. The Southern Line separates the Indian states of Gujarat and Rajasthan from the Pakistani provinces of Sindh and Punjab. The Northern Line separates the two parts of the divided Punjab and Kashmir.<sup>2</sup> The Southern Line is in fact not only centuries old but also runs along natural barriers though minor ones. The *Runn of Kutch* has been serving as a natural frontier between Sindh and the Kathiawar region of Gujarat from the dawn of history and forms the lower segment of the Southern Line. Though the upper segment of the Southern Line, the line that separates the Pakistani provinces of Sindh and Punjab on one hand and the Indian state of Rajasthan on the other; is just a couple of centuries old, it is located almost in the western limits of the Thar Desert or the Great Indian Desert, a geographical barrier.

On the other hand, the Northern Line that separates the divided Punjab and Kashmir is a double-edged frontier and is the primary reason for deep mutual distrust and persisting animosity between India and Pakistan. The Northern Line, like its southern counterpart, can also be divided into southern segment –Radcliffe Line between the two Punjabs and a short international border between the Pakistani Punjab and the Indian controlled Kashmir, and the northern segment– Line of Control (LOC) between the two Kashmirs.<sup>3</sup>

Jammu and Kashmir consist of three regions: Jammu, the Kashmir valley and Ladakh. Srinagar is the summer capital, and Jammu, its winter capital. It has common borders with Pakistan, China, Afghanistan and Tajikistan. By virtue of its central position in Asia, this border state of India commands a strategic importance. Jammu

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<sup>1</sup> Ananthachari, T. (2000), "India's Border management", *IPCS Articles*, No.351.

<sup>2</sup> Premashekhara, L. (2008), "Three Frontiers Theory: An Explanation to India - Pakistan Animosity", *Society for South Asian Studies, Pondicherry University*, [Online: web] Accessed 18.07.2009; URL:[http://www.pondiuni.edu.in/journals/ssas/2\\_premashekhara.pdf](http://www.pondiuni.edu.in/journals/ssas/2_premashekhara.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*

border is partly like that of Punjab in terms of relative plainness of the terrain, heavy land occupation and general accessibility. The area is roughly bounded between rivers Chenab and Ravi.<sup>4</sup>

Sir Creek, can be called a fluctuating tidal channel or an estuary, which is sixty-miles-long, situated in the marshes of the Rann of Kutch. The Rann lies on the border between the Indian state of Gujarat and the Pakistani province of Sind.<sup>5</sup> The Sir Creek issue also has a direct bearing on the as yet un-delimited maritime boundary between India and Pakistan because the definition of the land boundary in the Sir Creek area will in turn determine where the maritime boundary intersects the coast.

The Siachen Glacier is located in the eastern Karakoram range in the Himalaya Mountains along the disputed India-Pakistan border. It is the longest glacier (75 km long and 2 to 8 km wide) in the Karakoram and second longest in the world's non-polar areas.<sup>6</sup> The Siachen dispute between India and Pakistan is described as one of the most futile and wasteful in the world, both in material and human terms. The glacier is the highest battleground on earth, where India and Pakistan have fought intermittently. Both countries maintain permanent military personnel in the region at a height of over 6,000 meters (20,000 ft).<sup>7</sup> The site is a prime example of mountain warfare.

### **3.1 Evolution and Making of the Boundaries: The Radcliffe Line**

The Radcliffe Line became the border between India and Pakistan on August 17, 1947 after the Partition of India. The line was decided by the Border Commissions chaired by Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who was to divide equitably 175,000 square miles (450,000 km<sup>2</sup>) of territory with 88 million people.<sup>8</sup> On July 15, 1947; the Indian

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<sup>4</sup>Raina, A.N and et al. (1999), "Kashmir Region" in R. L. Singh, (Ed). *India: A Regional Geography*; National Geographical Society of India, Varanasi, p.353.

<sup>5</sup>Misra, Ashutosh (2001), "The Sir Creek Boundary Dispute: A Victim of India-Pakistan Linkage Politics" *IBRU Boundary and Security Bulletin*, winter 2001-2001, p.91.

<sup>6</sup>Khullar, D. R. (2006), "Introduction", *India: a Comprehensive Geography*; Kalyani Publishers: New Delhi, p.11.

<sup>7</sup>Lyon, Peter (2008), "Conflict Between India and Pakistan", *Amazon, Delhi*, p.145.

<sup>8</sup>Read, A. and Fisher, D. (1997), "The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence", New York: Norton, page. 482.



Independence Act 1947 of the British Parliament stipulated that the British Raj of India would end in just one month's time on August 15, 1947. It also stipulated the India into two sovereign dominions: the Union of India and the Dominion of Pakistan as a homeland for the Muslims in British India.

The Punjab, the region of the five rivers east of Indus: Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas, and Sutlej, consists of inter-fluvial *doabs*, or tracts of land lying between two confluent rivers. These are the *Sind-Sagar* doab (between Indus and Jhelum), the *Jech* doab (Jhelum/Chenab), the *Rechna* doab (Chenab/Ravi), the *Bari* doab (Ravi/Beas), and the *Bist* doab (Beas/Sutlej).<sup>9</sup> In early 1947, in the months leading up to the deliberations of the Punjab Boundary Commission, the main disputed areas appeared to be in the Bari and *Bist* doabs, although some areas in the *Rechna* doab were claimed by the Congress and Sikhs. In the *Bari* doab, the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, and Montgomery were all disputed. All districts (other than Amritsar, which was 46.5% Muslim) had Muslim majorities; albeit, in Gurdaspur, the Muslim majority, at 51.1%, was slender. At a smaller area-scale, only three *tehsils* (sub-units of a district) in the *Bari* doab had non-Muslim majorities. These were: Pathankot (in the extreme north of Gurdaspur, which was not in dispute), and Amritsar and Tarn Taran in Amritsar district. In addition, there were four Muslim-majority *tehsils* east of Beas-Sutlej (with two where Muslims outnumbered Hindus and Sikhs together).<sup>10</sup>

As it turned out, on "the sub-continent as a whole, some 14 million people left their homes and set out by every means possible by air, train, and road, in cars and lorries, in buses and bullock carts, but most of all on foot to seek refuge with their own kind."<sup>11</sup> The changes that the new border imparted upon the region had deep-felt repercussions; 'for millions of people across northern India, the central experience of

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<sup>9</sup>Spate, O. H. K. (1947), "The Partition of the Punjab and of Bengal", *The Geographical Journal* 110 (4/6): 201-218.

<sup>10</sup>*ibid*

<sup>11</sup>Ten million of them were in the central Punjab. In an area measuring about 200 miles (320 km) by 150 miles (240 km), roughly the size of Scotland, with some 17,000 towns and villages, 5 million Muslims were trekking from east to west, and 5 million Hindus and Sikhs trekking in the opposite direction. Many of them never made it to their destinations.

Read, A. and Fisher, D. (1997), "The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence"; Norton: New York, p. 497.

freedom from colonial rule was not one of joyous celebrations but of displacement, dislocation and disruption'.<sup>12</sup>

A crude border had already been drawn up by Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India prior to his replacement as Viceroy, in February 1947, by Lord Louis Mountbatten. In order to, determining exactly which territories to assign to each country, in June 1947, Britain appointed Sir Cyril Radcliffe to chair two Boundary Commissions one for Bengal and one for Punjab. Radcliffe was widely respected for his intellectual abilities, but he had never been to India. The commission takes its name from its chairman, Sir Cyril Radcliffe.<sup>13</sup> Before the Boundary Commission began formal hearings, governments were set up for the East and the West Punjab regions. Their territories were provisionally divided by "notional division" based on simple district majorities. In both the Punjab and Bengal, the Boundary Commission consisted of two Muslim and two non-Muslim judges with Sir Cyril Radcliffe as a common chairman. The mission of the Punjab commission was worded generally as: "to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab, on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will take into account other factors."<sup>14</sup>

Other factors were undefined, giving Radcliffe leeway, but included decisions regarding "natural boundaries, communications, watercourses and irrigation systems", as well as socio-political consideration. Each commission also had four representatives, two from the Indian National Congress and, two from the Muslim League. Given the deadlock between the interests of the two sides and their rancorous relationship, the final decision was essentially Radcliffe's.<sup>15</sup> After arriving in India on 8 July, 1947 Radcliffe was given just 5 weeks to decide on a border. He soon met

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<sup>12</sup> Tan Tai Yong, "Sir Cyril Goes to India: Partition, Boundary-Making and Disruptions in the Punjab", *International Journal of Punjab Studies*, 4(1), 1997, p 1.

<sup>13</sup> Spate, O. H. K. (1947), "The Partition of the Punjab and of Bengal", *The Geographical Journal* 110 (4/6): 201-218.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid*

<sup>15</sup> It may be impossible ever to clarify Radcliffe's thinking completely as Lucy Chester writes, "Regrettably, Radcliffe destroyed all his papers before he left India".

Chester, L. (2002), "The 1947 Partition: Drawing the Indo-Pakistani Boundary." *American Diplomacy*, [Online: web] Accessed 13.03.2009; URL: [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives\\_roll/2002\\_01-03/chester\\_partition/chester\\_partition.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_roll/2002_01-03/chester_partition/chester_partition.html).

with his college alumnus Mountbatten and travelled to Lahore and Calcutta to meet with commission members, chiefly Nehru from the Congress and Jinnah, president of the Muslim League.<sup>16</sup> He objected to the short time frame, but all parties were insistent that the line be finished by the August 15, 1947 British withdrawal from India. Mountbatten had accepted the post as Viceroy on the condition of an early deadline.<sup>17</sup> The decision was completed just a couple days before the withdrawal, but due to political manoeuvring, not published until 17 August, two days after the grant of independence to India and Pakistan.<sup>18</sup>

### **3.1.1 Problems in Boundary Making Procedures**

All lawyers by trade, Radcliffe and the other commissioners had all of the polish and none of the specialized knowledge needed for the task. They had no advisers to inform them of the well-established procedures and information needed to draw a boundary. Nor was there time to gather the survey and regional information. Radcliffe's efforts were further hampered by the fact that he was almost completely ignorant of the information and procedures necessary to draw a boundary, procedures that were well established by 1947.<sup>19</sup> "Moreover, he lacked any advisors versed in even the basics of boundary-making, and only his private secretary, Christopher Beaumont, was familiar with the realities of administration and everyday life in the Punjab. The absence of some experts and advisers, such as the United Nations, was deliberate, to avoid delay."<sup>20</sup> Britain's new Labour government "deep in wartime debt, simply couldn't afford to hold on to its increasingly unstable empire."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Read, A. and Fisher, D. (1997), "The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence", New York: Norton, 482-3.

<sup>17</sup>"He wrote to then Prime Minister Clement Atlee, "It makes all the difference to me to know that you propose to make a statement in the House, terminating the British 'Raj' on a definite and specified date; or earlier than this date, if the Indian Parties can agree a constitution and form a Government before this."

Read, A. and Fisher, D. (1997), "The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence", New York: Norton, p. 418.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid*

<sup>19</sup>Chester, L. (2002), "The 1947 Partition: Drawing the Indo-Pakistani Boundary." *American Diplomacy*, [Online: web] Accessed 13.03.2009; URL: [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives\\_roll/2002\\_01-03/chester\\_partition/chester\\_partition.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_roll/2002_01-03/chester_partition/chester_partition.html).

<sup>20</sup>"After the obligatory wrangles, with Jinnah playing for time by suggesting calling in the United Nations, which could have delayed things for months if not years, it was decided to set up two

### **3.1.2 Political Representation**

The equal representation given to politicians from Indian National Congress and the Muslim League intended to provide balance, instead created deadlock. The relationships were so tendentious that the leaders could hardly bear to speak to each other, and the agendas so at odds that there seemed to be little point anyway. In fact, minimizing the numbers of Hindus and Muslims on the wrong side of the line was not the only concern to balance. The Punjab Border Commission was to draw a border through the middle of an area home to the Sikh community. Lord Islay was rueful for the British not to give more consideration to the community who, in his words, had "provided many thousands of splendid recruits for the Indian Army" in its service for the crown in World War-I.<sup>22</sup> However, the Sikhs were vehemently opposed to any solution which would put their community in a Muslim ruled state. Moreover, many insisted on their own sovereign state, something no-one else would agree to. Perceiving the situation as intractable and urgent, Radcliffe went on to make all the difficult decisions himself. This was impossible from inception, but Radcliffe seems

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boundary commissions, each with an independent chairman and four High Court judges, two nominated by Congress and two by the League."

Read, A. and Fisher, D. (1997). *The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence*. New York: Norton, p.482.

<sup>21</sup> "Irrevocably enfeebled by the Second World War, the British belatedly realized that they had to leave the subcontinent, which had spiralled out of their control through the nineteen-forties. ... But in the British elections at the end of the war, the reactionaries unexpectedly lost to the Labour Party, and a new era in British politics began. As von Tunzelmann writes, 'by 1946, the subcontinent was a mess, with British civil and military officers desperate to leave, and a growing hostility to their presence among Indians.'... The British could not now rely on brute force without imperiling their own sense of legitimacy. Besides, however much they 'preferred the illusion of imperial might to the admission of imperial failure,' as von Tunzelmann puts it, the country, deep in wartime debt, simply couldn't afford to hold on to its increasingly unstable empire. Imperial disengagement appeared not just inevitable but urgent."

Mishra, P. (2007), "Exit Wounds". *The New Yorker*, August 13: [Online: web] Accessed 24.03.2009; URL:

[http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2007/08/13/070813crbo\\_books\\_mishra?currentPage=all](http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2007/08/13/070813crbo_books_mishra?currentPage=all).

<sup>22</sup> "After the 3 June 1947 plan had been announced, the main Sikh organization, the Shiromani Akali Dal, had distributed a circular saying that 'Pakistan means total death to the Sikh Panth [community] and the Sikhs are determined on a free sovereign state with the [rivers] Chenab and the Jamna as its borders, and it calls on all Sikhs to fight for their ideal under the flag of the Dal."

Read, A. and Fisher, D. (1997), "The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence", New York: Norton, p. 484-485.

have had no doubt in himself and raised no official complaint or proposal to change the circumstances.<sup>23</sup>

### **3.1.3 Local Knowledge**

Before his appointment, Radcliffe had never visited India before and knew no-one in India.<sup>24</sup> To the British and the feuding politicians alike, this liability was looked upon as an asset; he was considered to be unbiased toward any of the parties, except of course Britain. Only his private secretary, Christopher Beaumont, was familiar with the administration and life in the Punjab. Wanting to preserve the appearance of impartiality, Radcliffe also kept his distance from Viceroy Mountbatten. No amount of knowledge could produce a line that would completely avoid conflict; already, "sectarian riots in Punjab and Bengal dimmed hopes for a quick and dignified British withdrawal"<sup>25</sup>.

### **3.1.4 Hurriedness and lack of Interest**

Had the Commission been more careful, gaffes in the division could be avoided. For example, there were instances where the border was drawn leaving some parts of a village in India and some in Pakistan. Since he had just a month, Radcliffe saw little point in being careful to skirt villages. His border was drawn right through thickly populated areas instead of between them. There were even instances where the dividing line passed through a single house with some rooms in one country and others in the other.

Radcliffe justified such casual division with the truism that no matter what he did, people would suffer. The thinking behind this justification may never be known since Radcliffe "destroyed all his papers before he left India".<sup>26</sup> The implementation

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid*

<sup>24</sup>Read, A. and Fisher, D. (1997), "The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence", New York: Norton, p. 482.

<sup>25</sup>Mishra, P. (2007), "Exit Wounds". The New Yorker, August 13: [Online: web] Accessed 24.03.2009; URL: [http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2007/08/13/070813crbo\\_books\\_mishra?currentPage=all](http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2007/08/13/070813crbo_books_mishra?currentPage=all).

<sup>26</sup>Heward, E. (1994) "*The Great and the Good: A Life of Lord Radcliffe*" Chichester: Barry Rose Publishers, as cited in Chester, Methodology section, [Online: web] Accessed 13.03.2009; URL: [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives\\_roll/2002\\_01-03/chester\\_partition/chester\\_partition.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_roll/2002_01-03/chester_partition/chester_partition.html).

was no less hasty than the process of drawing the border. On August 16, 1947 at 5:00pm, the Indian and Pakistani representatives were given two hours to study copies, before the Radcliffe award was published on the 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1947.<sup>27</sup>

### **3.1.5 Secrecy**

Read wrote that, "To avoid disputes and delays, the division was done in secret. The final Awards were ready on 9 August and the 12 August, but not published until two days after the partition. According to Read, there is some circumstantial evidence that Nehru and Patel were secretly informed of the Punjab Award's contents on August 9 or 10, either through Mountbatten or Radcliffe's Indian assistant secretary."<sup>28</sup> Regardless of how it transpired, the award was changed to put a salient east of the Sutlej canal within India's domain instead of Pakistan's. This area consisted of two Muslim-majority tehsils with a combined population of over half a million. There were two apparent reasons for the switch, first; the area housed an army arms depot and secondly, the contained the headwaters of a canal which irrigated the princely of Bikaner, which would accede to India. Likewise, it is not known how Radcliffe was persuaded to award the Chittagong Hill Tracts to Pakistan. This came as a shock to Patel and Nehru who had assumed the areas would be awarded to India since they were 98% non-Muslim.<sup>29</sup> The truth of how these decisions were made may never be known since Radcliffe destroyed all of his records and Mountbatten expressly denied any special-knowledge or favouritism.

### **3.1.6 Implementation**

After the partition, the fledgling governments of India and Pakistan were left all responsibility to implement the border. After visiting Lahore in August, Viceroy Mountbatten hastily arranged a Punjab Boundary Force to keep the peace around

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<sup>27</sup> Chester, L. (2002), "The 1947 Partition: Drawing the Indo-Pakistani Boundary." American Diplomacy, [Online: web] Accessed 13.03.2009; URL: [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives\\_roll/2002\\_01-03/chester\\_partition/chester\\_partition.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_roll/2002_01-03/chester_partition/chester_partition.html).

<sup>28</sup> Read, A. and Fisher, D. (1997), "The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence", New York: Norton, p.490.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid*

Lahore, but 50,000 men were not enough to prevent thousands of killings, 77% of which were in the rural areas.<sup>30</sup> Given the size of the territory, the force amounted to less than one soldier per square mile. This was not enough to protect the cities much less the caravans of thousands of refugees who were fleeing their homes in what would become Pakistan. "This did not prevent them from getting into immediate conflict over the former princely state of Kashmir, as this territory was not a part of the Radcliffe agreement."<sup>31</sup> Ultimately, the conflicts led to three wars, in 1948, 1965, and 1971, and the Kargil conflict of 1999.

## **3.2 Border Disputes and Conflicts**

### **3.2.1 Sir Creek**

After partition, both countries started in right earnest, the process of demarcating the boundaries between them on the basis of Radcliffe award. Through rational compromises, reached through mutual negotiation, both the countries accomplished the gigantic task in approximately 25 years. The demarcation of the East Punjab-Pakistan boundary was completed in June 1960, and the Rajasthan-Pakistan boundary in 1963.<sup>32</sup> However, the two sides failed to demarcate the Kutch-Sind boundary.

The Sir Creek is a long strip of water disputed between India and Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch marshlands. The creek, which opens up into the Arabian Sea, divides the Kutch region of the Indian state of Gujarat with the Sind province of Pakistan.<sup>33</sup> The dispute lies in the interpretation of the boundary line between Kutch and Sindh as depicted in a 1914 and 1925 map showing the Kori Creek as part of Sind province. At that time, the provincial region was a part of Bombay Presidency of British India. After India's independence in 1947, Sindh became a part of Pakistan while Kutch remained a part of India. Pakistan lays claim to the entire

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<sup>30</sup>Read, A. and Fisher, D. (1997), "The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence", New York: Norton, p.487.

<sup>31</sup>*ibid*

<sup>32</sup>Ghai, U. R. and K. K. Ghai (2007), "India-Pakistan Relations: Problems, Progress and Prospects", *Foreign Policy of India*; New Academic Publishing Co.: Jalandhar, p.233.

<sup>33</sup>Khullar, D. R. (2006), "Introduction", *India: A Comprehensive Geography*; Kalyani Publishers: New Delhi, p.12.

creek as per *paras 9 and 10* of the *Bombay Government Resolution of 1914* signed between then the Government of Sind and Rao Maharaj of Kutch.<sup>34</sup> The resolution, which demarcated the boundaries between the two territories, included the creek as part of Sind, thus setting the boundary as the eastern flank of the creek. The boundary line, known as the "Green Line", is disputed by India which maintains that it is an "indicative line", known as a "ribbon line" in technical jargon.<sup>35</sup> India sticks to its position that the boundary lies mid-channel as depicted in another map drawn in 1925, and implemented by the installation of mid-channel pillars back in 1924.<sup>36</sup> India supports its stance by citing the Thalweg Doctrine in Law. The law states that river boundaries between two states may be, if the two states agree, divided by the mid-channel.

The dispute over Sir Creek can be traced back to the pre-independence period, to around 1908, when an argument ensued between the rulers of Kutch and Sind over a pile of firewood lying on the banks of a creek dividing the two principalities. The dispute was taken up by the government of Bombay state, which, in 1914, resolved the dispute supported by Map Number B44 and subsequently B74. Nothing significant happened in the next 40-50 years, and the dispute came alive again only in the 1960s.<sup>37</sup> In 1965, after armed clashes, Pakistan asserted that half of the Rann along the 24<sup>th</sup> parallel was Pakistani territory. India countered that the boundary ran roughly along the northern edge of the Rann. The matter was referred to international tribunal for arbitration. The Tribunal known as the Indo-Pakistani Western Boundary Case Tribunal announced its Award on 19 February 1968, upheld 90% of India's claim to the entire Rann, conceding small sectors to Pakistan. Sir Creek is named after the British representative who was requested to mediate in a dispute between the ruler of Sindh and the Rao of Kutch over a pile of firewood lying on the banks of the nearby Kori Creek.<sup>38</sup> In 1965, armed clashes resulted from Pakistan's claim that half of

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<sup>34</sup>"India-Pakistan talks: Sir Creek", *Embassy of India*; [Online: web] Accessed 09.03.2009; URL: [http://www.indianembassy.org/South\\_Asia/Pakistan/indpak\(sircreek\).htm](http://www.indianembassy.org/South_Asia/Pakistan/indpak(sircreek).htm).

<sup>35</sup> Reddy, Muralidhar B.(2005), "Dialogue on Sir Creek begins", *The Hindu* on 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2005.

<sup>36</sup>*ibid*

<sup>37</sup>Misra, Ashutosh (2001), "The Sir Creek Boundary Dispute: A Victim of India-Pakistan Linkage Politics" *IBRU Boundary and Security Bulletin*, winter 2001-2001; p.91.

<sup>38</sup>"Sir Creek", [Online: web] Accessed 28.02.2009; URL:[http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Sir-Creek#\\_note-observer](http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Sir-Creek#_note-observer).



the Rann of Kutch along the 24<sup>th</sup> parallel was Pakistan's territory and India's claim that the boundary ran roughly along the northern edge of the Rann. The matter was referred to arbitration and the Indo-Pakistan Western Boundary Case Tribunal's Award on February 19, 1968 upheld most of India's claim to the entire Rann, conceding very small sections to Pakistan. Unfortunately, the Tribunal left the Sir Creek part of the boundary out of consideration as it was deemed to be already agreed on. At issue now is whether the boundary lies in the middle of Sir Creek as India believes, or on its east bank, as Pakistan insists.<sup>39</sup> Despite the differences regarding the Sir Creek issue, it is one that could be resolved relatively easily between India and Pakistan, initiating a process of an incremental reduction in tensions.

In the aftermath of the Mumbai attacks, India has cancelled talks aimed at solving a long-running border dispute with Pakistan not in Kashmir, but in the teeming fishing waters of Sir Creek, which divides the two South Asian nations in the Arabian Sea. The narrow, 60-mile-long estuary has been a bone of contention between the two nations for decades. But the dispute has been given new urgency and stoked new controversy because it featured in the build up to the Mumbai terrorist attacks that left 171 people dead in late November. It was in the Sir Creek area where the 10 hijackers who set sail from Karachi, Pakistan, hijacked an Indian fishing boat that provided them with the cover to reach Mumbai undetected.<sup>40</sup>

### **3.2.2 Siachen Glacier**

The northern extreme boundary between India and Pakistan lies along the Salto mountain range in an area named for its most prominent feature, the Siachen Glacier. Since 1984, the two nations have battled over a 2,500-square-km triangle of contested territory.<sup>41</sup> The dispute arose over differing interpretations of a provision of

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<sup>39</sup>Rajen, G. (1999), "Open Forum: An Indian and Pakistani CBM: The Sir Creek Trans-Border Area"; *Disarmament Forum: The New Security Debate*; No.1p.49-50, [Online: web] Accessed 06.07.2009; URL: <http://www.unidir.ch/pdf/articles/pdf-art267.pdf>.

<sup>40</sup>Pokharel, Krishna (2009), "Attacks Stir another India-Pakistan Border Dispute", *The Wall Street Journal*; Jan 13, 2009, [Online: web] Accessed 08.03.2009; URL: [http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123180504307175401.html?mod=googlenews\\_wsj](http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123180504307175401.html?mod=googlenews_wsj).

<sup>41</sup>Kheli, Shirin Tahir and Kent L. Biringer (2001), "Reducing Risk in South Asia Managing India - Pakistan Tensions", *Cooperative Monitoring Centre Occasional Paper*; SAND98-0505/20, (1.1) [Online: web] Accessed 05.02.2009; URL: <http://www.cmc.sandia.gov/cmcpapers/sand98-050520.pdf>.

the 1949 cease-fire, as well as the subsequent 1972 Simla agreement, which left a portion of the cease-fire line undefined. The boundary was delineated only to map coordinate NJ9842 and vaguely referenced the direction from there as “thence north to the glaciers”—leaving a distance of about 65 kilometres un-demarcated and disputed, but untouched. Differences arose when in 1984 Indian troops occupied the watershed line along the Saltoro range northwesterly from NJ9842.<sup>42</sup> Conflict erupted and has remained for over 15 years with Pakistani troops holding positions across from Indian troops.<sup>43</sup> Pakistan claims a northeasterly line to the Karakoram pass from NJ9842 towards the Chinese border. The Siachen Glacier region is among the highest in the world with mountains of over 7500 meters and troop deployments at altitudes up to 6,700 meters.<sup>44</sup> Warfare in this region is extremely costly, with the cost of fighting conservatively estimated at \$200 million annually for India and at least half that amount for Pakistan with its easier lines of communication and access.<sup>45</sup> According to Gurmeet Kanwal, “A political settlement of the Siachen issue was nearly achieved in 1988 when the defense secretaries and military leaders made a proposal to pull back troops and set aside territorial questions.”<sup>46</sup>

Keeping in view the harsh conditions in Siachen area and huge money requirement to secure it, defence analysts are now debating on the strategic significance of the Siachen glacier. In his book *Siachen: Conflict without End*, Lt. Gen. V R Raghavan (Retd.), a former DGMO, has written: “*The (Siachen) theatre of conflict, as is now widely accepted, did not offer strategic advantages... It is clear that neither India nor Pakistan wished the Siachen conflict to assume its lasting and expensive dimensions.*”<sup>47</sup> But this glacier covers an area of about 450 sq km in Ladakh region near Karakoram range.<sup>48</sup> The Karakoram highway between China and Pakistan is very

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<sup>42</sup> *ibid*

<sup>43</sup> *ibid*

<sup>44</sup> Bhushan, Bharat (2005), “Tulbul, Sir Creek and Siachen: Competitive Methodologies”, *South Asian Journal*: Jan-March: 2005; [Online: web] Accessed 23.03.2009; URL: [http://www.southasianmedia.net/Magazine/Journal/7\\_competitive\\_methodologies.htm](http://www.southasianmedia.net/Magazine/Journal/7_competitive_methodologies.htm).

<sup>45</sup> Kanwal, Gurmeet (2007), “Demilitarisation of the Siachen Conflict Zone: An Idea Whose Time Has Come”, *IPCS brief review*, No.46, [Online: web] Accessed 12.03.2009; URL: [http://www.ipcs.org/pdf\\_file/issue/2094327224IPCS-IssueBrief-No46.pdf](http://www.ipcs.org/pdf_file/issue/2094327224IPCS-IssueBrief-No46.pdf), p.4.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid*

<sup>47</sup> Raghavan, V.R (2002), *Siachen: Conflict without End*, Viking, New Delhi, p.73.

<sup>48</sup> Khullar, D. R. (2006), “Introduction”, *India: A Comprehensive Geography*; Kalyani Publishers: New Delhi, p.11.

close which makes Siachen of great strategic significance undoubtedly.

### **3.2.3 Kashmir**

The armed conflict between Kashmiri militants and Indian security forces in the Kashmir valley, which began at the end of 1989, is in its twentieth year. The economic and social development of both India and Pakistan and, in fact, the entire South Asia subcontinent have been substantially held hostage by the half-century Kashmir dispute. Since the earliest days of Kashmir's accession, there have existed an Indian and a Pakistani version of how it happened.

When the British announced their plan to partition British India on June 3, 1947, the Congress members of the interim government informed the Maharaja more than once that he was completely free to accede to either dominion, but given that he was a Dogra Hindu, while 77 per cent of his subjects were Muslims, he would do well to ascertain the wishes of his people before taking a decision.<sup>49</sup>

As August 15, 1947, Independence Day, approached, Hari Singh sought to enter into a standstill agreement with both India and Pakistan.<sup>50</sup> India did not refuse to do so, and stalled his request on the grounds that there were various problems to be overcome first, but Pakistan immediately signed the agreement. However, in the following weeks, Pakistan began to exert various types of pressure, including withholding supplies of kerosene, gasoline, food, edible oils, and salt from the state.<sup>51</sup> When this soured relations with Maharaja Hari Singh and led to acrimonious exchanges between him and Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, including veiled threats by the Maharaja that he would 'ask for assistance' elsewhere if his state's needs were not met, Pakistan organised an invasion of Kashmir to take matters out of the Maharaja's hands. Initially the invaders were Pathan tribesman directed and led by Pakistani officers, who entered Kashmir on the night of 21/22 October 1947. From

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<sup>49</sup>Jha, Prem Shankar (1998), *Kashmir, 1947: Rival Version of History*; Oxford University Press: New York, p.2.

<sup>50</sup>Bose, Sumantra (2003), "Origins of the Conflict", *Kashmir: Roots of the Conflict, Paths to Peace*; Vistar Publications: New Delhi, p.33.

<sup>51</sup>Wolpert, Stanley (1984), *Jinnah of Pakistan*; Oxford University Press, New York, p.348.

early 1948, however, the regular Pakistani army also entered the fray.<sup>52</sup> The Maharaja appealed to India for assistance in repelling the invaders, but Indian government's response was that it could not send troops to Kashmir without the Maharaja's prior accession. The Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession on October 26, 1947.<sup>53</sup> When the Maharaja signed the agreement Indian soldiers were airlifted to Srinagar in the early hours of October 27.

Pakistan's version of the events was first given on October 30, 1947. In short the Hindu Maharaja's 'Dogra' troops embarked on what would now be described as 'ethnic cleansing' and provoked a spontaneous uprising against his tyranny. This and subsequent accession, inflamed the Pathan tribesman and brought them to the defence of their co-religionists. This immediate reaction was only half of Pakistan's case against Kashmir accession to India. Within days the Pakistani government also began claiming that the accession was the product of a "long matured plot in India aided and abetted by Lord Mountbatten, to tie Kashmir to India and prevent the State's accession to Pakistan."<sup>54</sup>

In the years immediately following the Accession, the International community recognised that the Accession gave India the legal right to be in Kashmir, and required Pakistan to vacate it. This position was reflected in the UN Security Council's resolution of April 13, 1948, and three resolutions of the UN Commission on India and Pakistan which were designed to implement it and make it operational. These were resolutions of August 13, 1948, January 5, 1949, and April 28, 1949.<sup>55</sup>

As Prem Shankar Jha has written that "every insurrection, every revolt, creates its own justification", the history of Kashmir's accession to India in 1947, and its subsequent integration into the Indian Union is often challenged.<sup>56</sup> The outbreak of insurgency in Kashmir valley, and some adjoining areas of Jammu, in 1989 and 1990

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<sup>52</sup> Jha, Prem Shankar (1998), *Kashmir, 1947: Rival Version of History*; Oxford University Press: New York, p.3.

<sup>53</sup> Lamb, A. (1993), *Kashmir: A Disputed legacy*; Oxford university Press: Lahore, p.135.

<sup>54</sup> Jha, Prem Shankar (1998), *Kashmir, 1947: Rival Version of History*; Oxford University Press: New York, p.5.

<sup>55</sup> Bose, Sumantra (2003), "The Kashmir-India Debacle", *Kashmir: Roots of the Conflict, Paths to Peace*; Vistar Publications: New Delhi, p.54.

<sup>56</sup> *ibid*, p.1.

have seen a renewed attempt to discredit the Indian version of events. Some scholars have raised questions about Kashmir's accession to India in a reappraisal of Lord Mountbatten's role. Alastair Lamb has sought not only to vindicate the Pakistani contention in entirety, but has asserted that the accession was a sham to which not just a gullible Mountbatten but the entire British government was, for geo-strategic reasons, a party.<sup>57</sup>

The qualitative heightening of terrorism and secessionism, with the accompanying violence supported by Pakistan since the end of 1989, was peaking towards the end of 1991. According to J. N. Dixit, "The Ministry of External Affairs basically had three tasks to perform in relation to problems resulting from Jammu and Kashmir. The first was to prevent the operational or institutional internationalisation of the issue. This could have led to Kashmir's separation from India. The second task was to present Indian perceptions and the Indian case on Kashmir to the international community at the bilateral level as well as in international fora, such as the UN. The third task was to interact with the Home Ministry and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir in order to keep them informed of international attitudes and reactions developing and to get authentic information so as to reinforce the Indian case internationally."<sup>58</sup>

### **3.2.4 Water Distribution Dispute**

Both India and Pakistan depend on snow-fed rivers that rise in the Himalayas. The Indus moreover passes through Jammu and Kashmir, which is in dispute between the two countries.<sup>59</sup> The Tulbul Navigation Project (Wullar Barrage), Baglihar, Kishanganga, Salal are mere contentious water issues. Under the Law of the Seas Convention, nations have to make their claims to territorial waters and the seabed adjacent to their shores before 2009; otherwise a solution would be imposed on them.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Lamb, A. (1993), *Kashmir: A Disputed legacy*; Oxford university Press: Lahore, pp. 93-6.

<sup>58</sup> Dixit, J. N. (2002), *India-Pakistan in War & Peace*; Routledge: London, p.304.

<sup>59</sup> Seema.S (2005), "Indo-Pakistan Water Disputes", speaking PR Chari; *IPCS Articles*: No, 1770, [Online: web] Accessed 04.03.2009; URL: [http://www.ipcs.org/article\\_details.php?articleNo=1770](http://www.ipcs.org/article_details.php?articleNo=1770).

<sup>60</sup> *ibid*

India perceives the disagreements over the Indus Waters Treaty (IWT) as a political issue and not a water issue. The IWT brokered by the World Bank provided for the division of the rivers between India and Pakistan. The eastern rivers, Sutlej, Beas and Ravi were allocated to India. The western rivers, Jhelum, Chenab and Indus were allotted to Pakistan (barring their use by India under specified conditions in Jammu and Kashmir). The IWT lay to rest the lifeline concern of Pakistan. Indus Water Commissioners were appointed by both sides for annual inspection, exchange of reports and resolution of differences. The burden for operating the treaty lies with the upper riparian i.e., India. The IWT has survived the conflicts between India and Pakistan and has worked because India has been a responsible upper riparian.<sup>61</sup>

Until now 27 projects undertaken by the Indian side have been questioned by Pakistan basically to halt progress and delay implementation, which gets related to the Kashmir issue. In the late 1970's, Pakistan objected to Salal, a 480 MW hydro power project on the Chenab river on the grounds that it can be used to store water and dry up the downstream rivers and canals that could also be used for anti-tank defences by Pakistan.<sup>62</sup> It could also be used for flooding the lower riparian states. These fears are irrational. To flood Pakistan, the dam would have to be broken down and the areas to be flooded would first be on the Indian side. Moreover, this would be against the rules of war and against the Geneva Conventions. It would invite international condemnation; India therefore would not indulge in such an act. India agreed to make design changes in the Salal dam and now faces siltage problems.<sup>63</sup> India does not want this experience to be repeated with future projects.

The objection is similar for the Tulbul project where Pakistan insists that a storage dam is being constructed. The project involves retaining water in the Wullar Lake formed by the river Jhelum, rising naturally and then releasing it in a regulated fashion after October. It could be used for navigational purposes and to impound

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<sup>61</sup>Seema.S (2005), "Indo-Pakistan Water Disputes", speaking, George Verghese; *IPCS Articles*: No, 1770, [Online: web] Accessed 04.03.2009; URL: [http://www.ipcs.org/article\\_details.php?articleNo=1770](http://www.ipcs.org/article_details.php?articleNo=1770).

<sup>62</sup>Devraj, Ranjit (2005), "Peace flounders over water dispute", *Asia Times: South Asia*, 22 Jan.2005: [Online: web] Accessed 09.03.2009; URL: [http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South\\_Asia/GA22Df01.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/GA22Df01.html).

<sup>63</sup>*ibid*

water for the Uri hydel power plant. Termed as a '*flood retardation scheme*' by India, this could be beneficial for other projects downstream. Pakistan insists that a storage dam is being constructed.

Kishenganga is a tributary that flows into the Jhelum near Nowshera (close to Muzaffarabad). India informed Pakistan about the project in 1994. Inter-tributary transfer is allowed under the IWT. The river rises near Gurez and flows through J&K and then crosses the LoC, now renamed Neelum before joining the Jhelum near Muzaffarabad.<sup>64</sup> The Project envisages a 75 metre high concrete dam at Gurez at about 8,000 feet to store 1,40,000 MAF of water and divert some flows through a 22 km tunnel bored into the mountain into the Madmati Nala, which empties into the Wullar Lake. Pakistan's objection is that the water is not transferred into the same tributary Neelum, although it finally gets into the Jhelum. Pakistan argues that it is already building a dam on the Neelum near Nowshera to irrigate a 100 km stretch from Nowshera to the LoC, and that 1,33,000 hectares was already being irrigated. There is no evidence to substantiate this claim. Neither does the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) show this as one of its projects nor do satellite surveys confirm this. Pakistan counters with another objection that the project would flush the Wullar Lake.<sup>65</sup>

Climate change is also shrinking the glaciers and changing rainfall patterns. There is a need for more storage to insure against these hazards. Article 7 of the IWT envisages future cooperation and points to the "common interest in the optimum development of the rivers" and calls upon both sides "to cooperate, by mutual consent, to the fullest extent?in undertaking engineering works in the rivers".<sup>66</sup>

### **3.3 Indo-Pakistan Wars**

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<sup>64</sup>Bansal, Alok (2005), "Baglihar and Kishanganga: Problems of Trust", *IPCS Article No.1762*; [Online: web] Accessed 02.03.2009; URL:[http://www.ipcs.org/article\\_details.php?articleNo=1762](http://www.ipcs.org/article_details.php?articleNo=1762).

<sup>65</sup> Seema.S (2005), "Indo-Pak Water Disputes", quoting George Verghese, [Online: web] Accessed 12.03.2009; URL: [http://www.ipcs.org/article\\_details.php?articleNo=1770](http://www.ipcs.org/article_details.php?articleNo=1770).

<sup>66</sup> *ibid*

### **3.3.1 First Indo-Pak War (1947-49)**

The first war between the two neighbours broke out soon after their independence in 1947. Armed Pathans from the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan entered the territory of Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir, who was yet undecided on the issue of accession to either India or Pakistan. Indian military help was sought by the Maharaja to fend off the invasion. Forces arrived on October 27, after the Maharaja decided on accession of Kashmir to Indian Union.<sup>67</sup> Despite early successes, the Indian Army suffered a setback in December because of logistical problems. Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) troops forced Indian army to retreat from the border areas. Following spring, the Indian side mounted another offensive to recapture some of the ground that it had lost. As the conflict escalated, the India realised the war could not be ended unless Pakistani support to occupied Kashmir forces was stopped.<sup>68</sup> Accordingly, India filed a complaint against Pakistan at the United Nations on December 31, 1948, despite some opposition from within the Cabinet. In August, the UN Commission for India and Pakistan called for an end to hostilities with a truce, to be followed by a referendum for self-determination among Kashmiris. Both the parties agreed to the UN resolution. The UN Security Council eventually brought about a ceasefire between Pakistani and Indian troops on January 1, 1949. In all, 1,500 soldiers died on each side during the war, which left about 30 per cent of Kashmir-including areas of Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, and Baltistan-under Pakistani control.<sup>69</sup>

### **3.3.2 Second Indo-Pak War (August 5 - Sept 23, 1965)**

The war of 1965 was perhaps one of the most intense wars the two neighbours ever fought. It was also the one that exposed weaknesses in the India's

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<sup>67</sup>Ganguly, Rajat (2000), "India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute", *Asian Studies Institute & Centre for Strategic Studies*: 1174-5991, [Online: web] Accessed 12.03.2009; URL: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/asianstudies/publications/other/India%20Pakistan%20and%20the%20Kashmir%20Dispute.pdf>.

<sup>68</sup>Amin, A. H. (2001), "The Anatomy of Indo-Pak Wars: A Strategic and Operational Analysis", *Defence Journal*, [Online: web] Accessed 14.03.2009; URL: <http://www.defencejournal.com/2001/august/anatomy.htm>.

<sup>69</sup>Madhok, Balraj (2001), "Kashmir: The Storm Centre of the World", *Kashmir Information Network*; [Online: web] Accessed 20.07.2009; URL: <http://www.kashmir-information.com/Storm/chapter7.html>.



military prowess. Pakistan attacked India in operation code named Gibraltar on August 5, 1965.<sup>70</sup> After initial skirmishes, the first major engagement between the two sides took place on August 14.<sup>71</sup> Following initial advances by India in the northern sector, Pakistani forces moved concentrations near Tithwal, Uri, and Poonch. In a powerful retaliation Indian troops advanced into occupied Kashmir and captured strategic Haji Pir Pass, eight kilometers inside Pakistani territory. Pakistan then launched Operation Grand Slam to take the Akhnoor bridge and cut off the lifeline of supplies to southwest Kashmir. On September 1, Pakistani attack in the southern sector in Punjab inflicted heavy losses on Indian forces. On September 2, India called in air support, which was retaliated by Pakistani air strikes in Kashmir and Punjab.<sup>72</sup>

The war was at a point of stalemate when the UN Security Council unanimously passed a resolution on September 20 that called for a ceasefire. New Delhi and Islamabad accepted the ceasefire, and the war ended on September 23. "Indian troops suffered 3,000 casualties, while the Pakistani suffered 3,800. Almost thousand tanks, on either side, were engaged in the war. At the end of it Pakistan lost an estimated 300 tanks, India's losses were 128 tanks. In the aftermath of the war, Soviet-brokered Tashkent Declaration was signed on January 10, 1966."<sup>73</sup>

### **3.3.3 Third Indo-Pak War (1971)**

The 1971 Indo-Pak war initially started as a civil war in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) as a result of political oppression by the ruling elite of West Pakistan. The revolt began in 1970, when after the general election Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was thrown behind bars. Pakistani Army cracked down in

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<sup>70</sup>Dixit, J. N. (2002), *India-Pakistan in War & Peace*; Routledge: London, p.138.

<sup>71</sup>Ganguly, Rajat (2000), "India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute", *Asian Studies Institute & Centre for Strategic Studies*: 1174-5991, [Online: web] Accessed 12.03.2009; URL: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/asianstudies/publications/other/India%20Pakistan%20and%20the%20Kashmir%20Dispute.pdf>.

<sup>72</sup> Leng, F. Russel (2005), "Reakpolitik and learning" in T. V. Paul (ed.), *The India-Pakistan Conflict*; Cambridge Press: New York, p.119.

<sup>73</sup> *ibid*

Bangladesh, killing civilians.<sup>74</sup> Over 80 lakh refugees entered India. Indian government repeatedly appealed to the international community, but failing to elicit any response, then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi decided to help Bengali freedom fighters liberate East Pakistan in April 1971. Pakistan Air Force in East Pakistan responded by attacking suspected Mukti Bahini camps located inside Indian territory in West Bengal. On December 3, Pakistan Air Force struck Indian airfields in northern India. By midnight, India was officially at war with Pakistan.<sup>75</sup> In one of the swiftest military campaigns in recent history, India liberated Bangladesh in two weeks, taking 93,000 Prisoner of Wars. On July 2, 1972, India and Pakistan signed the Simla Pact, agreeing to respect the Line of Control until the issue is finally resolved.<sup>76</sup>

### **3.3.4 Kargil War (1999)**

Kargil was fought between the two countries at the frozen heights of Himalayas. Infiltrators in the Batalik sector were first discovered by Indian Army patrols on May 8, 1999.<sup>77</sup> The intruders, comprising mostly Pak Army regulars, along with a sprinkling of Mujahideen, were specially trained and equipped by Pakistan in 40 staging camps near the Line of Control (LoC).<sup>78</sup> The troops were trained and concentrated at Gultari, Faranshat, Shaqma, Olthingthang, Marol and Kharmang in Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir (PoK), prior to being inducted across the LoC. They had been equipped by Pakistan with medium machine guns, heavy mortars and sophisticated small arms to fight, duly supported by Artillery, with snow

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<sup>74</sup>Ganguly, Rajat (2000), "India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute", *Asian Studies Institute & Centre for Strategic Studies*: 1174-5991, [Online: web] Accessed 12.03.2009; URL: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/asianstudies/publications/other/India%20Pakistan%20and%20the%20Kashmir%20Dispute.pdf>.

<sup>75</sup>Cooper, Tom and Khan Syed Shaiz Ali (2003), "India - Pakistan War: 1971, Introduction" *Indian-Subcontinent database*, Accessed 12.07.2009; URL: [http://www.acig.org/artman/publish/article\\_326.shtml](http://www.acig.org/artman/publish/article_326.shtml).

<sup>76</sup> *ibid*

<sup>77</sup> Dixit, J. N.(2002), *India-Pakistan in War & Peace*; Routledge: London, p.25.

<sup>78</sup> "Kargil War: A Glorious Victory for India", *Ministry of Defence: Sainik Samachar*, Accessed 05.03.2009; URL: <http://mod.nic.in/samachar/17/html/ch8.htm>.

mobiles and aviation helicopters for maintenance and sustenance. For protection against air threat they had Stinger missiles.<sup>79</sup>

On May 31, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee said it was a "war-like situation" in Kargil<sup>80</sup> and on June 6, the Army launched Operation Vijay, a major offensive in Kargil and Drass sectors.<sup>81</sup> These were accompanied by air strikes. The objective was to keep the crucial Srinagar-Leh highway free from any Pakistani threat.<sup>82</sup> Three days later, the Army captured the crucial Tololing peak. By July 11, Pakistani infiltrators started retreating from Kargil as India recaptured key peaks at Batalik and set a deadline of July 16 for total withdrawal. On July 12, Sharif announced the pullout on the television and proposed talks with Vajpayee. Operation Vijay was declared a success on July 14.<sup>83</sup>

### **3.4 Cross-border Terrorism**

At the minimal functional level, the contemporary breed of terrorism implies organised use of violence for political ends and it is directed primarily at non-combatants. The organisation of such violence is often attributed to varying non-state actors of diverse ideological persuasions<sup>84</sup>. Ironically, terrorist violence also is an instrument of states and governments to fight non-state terrorist outfits. Thus since the principal adversaries, state and non-state, pitted against each other are capable of resorting to terrorist violence, the term terrorism opens itself to various, often diametrically opposite, meanings and interpretations. For instance, while maintaining law and order the activities of the groups that resort to terrorist violence are dubbed as anti-national or secessionist by the state, while people who believe in the cause that warrants even terrorist violence glorify the terrorists as freedom-fighters and perceive 'secessionism' as a struggle for self-determination. The on-going menace of cross-border terrorism that is acting as a stumbling block to the Indo-Pak peace initiatives

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<sup>79</sup>*ibid*

<sup>80</sup>"India being forced into war-like situation: PM", *ABC News Online*; Accessed 23.03.2009; URL: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/newsitems/200112/s447675.htm>.

<sup>81</sup>Margolis, Eric S. (2001), "War at the Top of the World", *Routledge*, New York, p.139.

<sup>82</sup>"Kargil Conflict", Accessed 22.03.2009; URL: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/kargil-99.htm>.

<sup>83</sup>Dixit, J. N. (2002), *India-Pakistan in War & Peace*; Routledge: London, p.34.

<sup>84</sup>Bajpai, Kanti (2002): *Roots of Terrorism*, Penguin Books, New Delhi.p.6-8.

has to be located in this context. To put it simply, if the government of India is critical of cross-border terrorism sponsored by Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K).<sup>85</sup> Even if normative yardsticks are constantly shaping notions and acts of terrorism in the two countries, it could be argued, quite convincingly, that the phenomenon of terrorism has struck root and gained pervasive presence in Pakistan.

Terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda and the Taliban moved to Waziristan, a mountainous region located in the North-West part of the country. The reason those terrorist groups made their move are because North and South Waziristan are “remote tribal areas along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border far out of reach of foreign troops” Pakistan isn’t doing enough to prevent the terrorist groups from launching terrorist attacks or causing terrorism; so the terrorists are free to do what they want.. One of the major conflicts between India and Pakistan is set in the Kashmir Region. “The conflict is characterized by violent cross-border raids from Pakistani Kashmir to Indian Kashmir by Muslim separatist groups.”<sup>86</sup> These groups are responsible for terrorist attacks in each others’ countries. One example of terrorist attack from the Kashmiri Muslim Group is the Mumbai train bombing in 2006 which killed about 200 people. Over the course of the past three decades, Pakistan’s army has built a complex network of relationships with numerous jihadist terror groups, including the Taliban, and with terrorists like Osama bin Laden. Fear of India is the driving force behind the army’s pursuit of these relationships.

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<sup>85</sup>Harshe, Rajen (2003); “Cross-Border Terrorism: Road-Block to Peace Initiatives”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38(35), pp. 3621-3625.

<sup>86</sup>“Pakistan: Contemporary Issues.” *World Geography: 2008*, Accessed 22.02.2009; URL: <http://www.worldgeography.abc-clio.com>.

## **Chapter-IV**

# **Border Management of India-Pakistan Border**

#### **4.1 Border Management Scenario: India-Pakistan Border**

Border Management is a function of a country's external and internal situations, as well as its interplay with each other. The external environment is greatly influenced by prevailing global order, the disposition of immediate neighbour, regional developments and tensions. The internal situation is impacted by several aspects of national life ranging from law and order to social cohesion. Both internal and external environments are changing at an incredible fast pace, with development in nuclear weapons and missiles, increasing cross-border terrorism, the emergence of non-state actors, the growth of Islamic fundamentalism, the narcotic arms nexus, illegal migration and left wing extremism gravely impacting upon the security of a country. The technological development in the field of telecommunications and computer systems has given new dimension to the threat and challenges.

Unresolved disputes, emerging competitions and even conflicts between the two countries ranging from boundary issues to energy security require strategic vision, diplomatic skill and mutual accommodation. India faces multiple and complex threats and challenges to its security from the land, sea and air.<sup>1</sup> Since independence, five wars have been imposed on India-four with Pakistan and one with China; and many of the insurgencies faced by India have been fuelled or drawn sustenance from abroad.

Pakistan's traditional hostility of destabilising India is not focused just on Kashmir but on a search for parity. This arises out of the two-nation theory of 1947, coupled with a desire to extract revenge for the 1971 humiliation over the separation of Bangladesh. This has been further accentuated by the Kargil war. Pakistan has been waging a proxy war against India since the 1989. Since the Kargil war and the military coup of October 12, 1999, Pakistan's support to cross-border terrorism has intensified and is expected to continue in the future. In addition, the rapid growth of Islamic radicalism in Pakistan is also of serious concern to India. At the time of partition in 1947, Sir Radcliff assisted by two Boundary Commissioners, demarcated

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<sup>1</sup> Mukerjee, Dilip (1968), "India's Defence Perspectives" *International Affairs*, 44(4), pp. 666.

boundaries between India and Pakistan (east and west).<sup>2</sup> The boundaries so demarcated are devoid of any natural geographical features resulting in unsettled border disputes till date. In addition Sir Radcliff did not deal with boundary of J&K between India and Pakistan because it was a princely state not under British India and had the opinion of remaining independent.

## **4.2 India-Pakistan: Border-Distribution**

India shares 3323 Km (including Line of Control in Jammu & Kashmir sector) of its land border with Pakistan.<sup>3</sup> Towards the north, in J&K, over 814 km stretch of border with POK is referred to as the Line of Control (LoC). The northern most point of LoC ends at NJ 9842, beyond which 124km is categorized as Actual Ground Position Line (AGPL). At the south end of the border, both countries have yet to arrive at an understanding on delineating the border along Sir Creek and G pillar lines, which is 104 km up to estuary point.

The International border with Pakistan and state of Gujarat runs almost entirely along the northern edge of the great Rann of Kutch. The total length of the borders from eastern terminus to western terminus (BP1175) is 428 Kms. The delimitation of the unresolved boundary from BP1175 to mouth of Sir Creek measures approx 104 km. Gujarat borders especially its north eastern portion and Kutch coastline are strategically very important in view of its close proximity of rail and road network of lower Sind province, the Sukkar barrage, industrial and Naval hub at Karachi. The area west of BP 1175 to estuary point has not been mutually agreed upon nor demarcated. This leaves the maritime boundary too undecided between the two countries. The coastal back-water is known for abundant exotic fishes, mineral deposits and hydrocarbon deposits.<sup>4</sup> Pakistan terrain and topography, is in better position to dominate the Sir Creek area.<sup>5</sup> In the post Atlantique it has

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<sup>2</sup> Read, A. and Fisher, D. (1997), *The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence*, New York: Norton, page 482-483.

<sup>3</sup>“Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs”, *Government of India*, Chapter-III p.30.

<sup>4</sup> Das, Pushpita(2008), “Securing the Northern Coast of Gujarat: Challenges and Responses”, *IDSIA Reports*, [Online: web] Accessed 21.06.2009; URL: <http://www.idsa.in/reports/GujaratCoastSeminarReport011208.htm>.

<sup>5</sup>Soofi, Ahmer Bilal(2005); “Legal Purview: Wullar Barrage, Siachen and Sir Creek”, *South Asian Journal*, April-March, [Online: web] Accessed 19.06.2009; URL: [http://www.southasianmedia.net/Magazine/Journal/7\\_legal\\_purview.htm](http://www.southasianmedia.net/Magazine/Journal/7_legal_purview.htm).

improved its posture strength and vigils G pillar line and Sir Creek, by deploying Pak marines, Special Forces of Pakistan Navy. With border fence and border roads under construction up to BP 1123, vulnerability of coastal areas will further increase.<sup>6</sup>

Rajasthan border forms the major portion of western international borders with Pakistan covering 1037 km of length.<sup>7</sup> The border is fully demarcated with the help of boundary pillars. The boundary line covers the districts of Ganganagar, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and Barmer. With the exception of Ganganagar, all other border districts from the desert belt of Rajasthan border. It has border which is completely fenced and flood lighted except for 11.2 km in Q Head area which has H Minor canal running close to the borders. Ganganagar border area has fairly good means of communication with roads and canals leading toward the border area. Similarly, the flow of Gaggar River during rainy season submerges bordering area between BP 365 and BP 372 (Bikaner Sector) as Pakistan has built earthen bund on its side.<sup>8</sup> Both these areas are very sensitive from point of view of infiltration. A full proof gate management system has been evolved to deter illegal entrants crossing to India. As the border districts of Bikaner, Jaisalmer and Barmer from the desert belt of Rajasthan border, the entire border belt forms a vast desert full of sandy wasteland devoid of vegetation. The area signifies man's struggle against vagaries of nature. Camel known as ship of desert, works as a traditional means of movement.<sup>9</sup> These are being effectively used by BSF for patrolling, khura checking and ferrying logistics. The areas opposite Jaisalmer and Barmer districts in Pakistan are highly susceptible as land between Indus river canal system and the Indo-Pak border forms a strategic bottleneck. On India's side Kishangarh and Shahgarh bulge areas are jutting into Pakistan. These areas are full of sand dunes and vast stretch of loose sand makes the area difficult in traversing.<sup>10</sup> Barring about 30 km of shifting sand dunes area, rest of it has been flood lighted and fenced. Indira Gandhi canal has to some extent brought relief to the people but due to

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<sup>6</sup> *ibid*

<sup>7</sup> "India 2008", *Publication Division*, New Delhi, p.1183 (in Hindi edition).

<sup>8</sup> *ibid*

<sup>9</sup> "Geography of Rajasthan" [Online: web] Accessed 22.07.2009; URL: <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/rajasthan/geography-history/geography.html>

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*



less discharge of water from Punjab, Harike barrage its utility is minimal.<sup>11</sup> However, this canal can be used as operational asset to Indian Army in desert warfare.

Punjab border of 554 km length is criss-crossed by rivers Ravi and Sutlej.<sup>12</sup> Constant state of hostility and tension marked by several wars between the two had led to extraordinary arrangements for security of Punjab border. It is now a highly well guarded border with a desirable level of man-machine interface. Fencing project of Punjab was conceived in 1986 by BSF in consultation with CPWD. It is significant that, here; the border population is emotionally integrated with the country. The pace of development in border areas and in interior areas is compatible and creates no feeling of disenchantment with authorities.

Jammu and Kashmir is the northernmost state of India. It is situated mostly in the Himalayan Mountains. Jammu and Kashmir shares a border with the People's Republic of China to the north-east, the states of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab to the south and Pakistani occupied territories of Kashmir, and the Northern Areas to the west and north-west respectively.<sup>13</sup> Formerly a part of the erstwhile princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, this territory is disputed between China, India and Pakistan. Jammu and Kashmir is referred to by Pakistan as "Indian-occupied Kashmir". The 1962 India-China war ended with China seizing some 38,000 sq km of Indian Territory in Aksai Chin in the eastern-most fringes of J&K. Pakistan went on to unilaterally and illegally cede another 5,120 km of territory in northern Kashmir to China under a 1963 pact.<sup>14</sup>

Jammu and Kashmir consist of three regions: Jammu, the Kashmir valley and Ladakh. Srinagar is the summer capital, and Jammu, its winter capital. It has common borders with Pakistan, China, Afghanistan and Tajikistan. By virtue of its central position in Asia, this border state of India commands a strategic importance. Jammu border is partly like that of Punjab in terms of relative plainness of the terrain, heavy

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<sup>11</sup> Singh, S. and A. Kar (1997), "Desertification Control", *The Arid Ecosystem of India for Sustainable Development*, Agro-Botanical Publishers, Bikaner, p.132.

<sup>12</sup>"India 2008", *Publication Division*, New Delhi, p.1176 (in Hindi edition).

<sup>13</sup>"Kashmir" Accessed 12.07.2009; URL: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/312908/Kashmir>.

<sup>14</sup> Singh, Rahul (2009), "Pakistan, China nexus in Kashmir: Report", *Hindustan Times*; 10 July, [Online: web] Accessed 13.07.2009; URL: <http://www.hindustantimes.com/StoryPage/Print.aspx?Id=69954892-c16c-4962-a36b-ded7a18003c0>.

land occupation and general accessibility. This area is roughly bounded between rivers Chenab and Ravi.

The Sir Creek is a 96 km strip of water disputed between India and Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch marshlands.<sup>15</sup> The creek, which opens up into the Arabian Sea, divides the Kutch region of the Indian state of Gujarat with the Sindh province of Pakistan. The dispute lies in the interpretation of the boundary line between Kutch and Sindh as depicted in a 1914 and 1925 map. At that time, the region was a part of Bombay Presidency of undivided India. After India's independence in 1947, Sindh became a part of Pakistan while Kutch remained a part of India. Pakistan lays claim to the entire creek as per *paras 9 and 10* of the *Bombay Government Resolution of 1914* signed between then the Government of Sindh and Rao Maharaj of Kutch. The resolution, which demarcated the boundaries between the two territories, included the creek as part of Sindh, thus setting the boundary as the eastern flank of the creek.<sup>16</sup> The boundary line, known as the "Green Line", is disputed by India which maintains that it is an "indicative line", known as a "ribbon line" in technical jargon. India sticks to its position that the boundary lies mid-channel as depicted in another map drawn in 1925, and implemented by the installation of mid-channel pillars back in 1924.

The Siachen Glacier is located in the eastern Karakoram range in the Himalaya Mountains along the disputed India-Pakistan border at approximately 35.5° N 77.0° E.<sup>17</sup> It is the longest glacier in the Karakoram and second longest in the world's non-polar areas. The glacier is the highest battleground on earth, where India and Pakistan have fought intermittently since April 13, 1984. Both countries maintain permanent military personnel in the region at a height of over 6,000 meters (20,000 ft).<sup>18</sup> The site is a prime example of mountain warfare.

### **4.3 Problems of Indo-Pak Border management**

According to Blake, the management requirements of particular boundary will be determined by six groups of factors: (a) Boundary history, (b) Legal status, (c)

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<sup>15</sup> Reddy, Muralidhar B.(2005), "Dialogue on Sir Creek begins", *The Hindu*, 29<sup>th</sup> May.

<sup>16</sup> "India-Pakistan talks: Sir Creek", *embassy of India*, [Online: web] Accessed 22.06.2009; URL: [http://www.indianembassy.org/South\\_Asia/Pakistan/indpak\(sircreek\).htm](http://www.indianembassy.org/South_Asia/Pakistan/indpak(sircreek).htm).

<sup>17</sup> Upadhyay, Rajeev (2009), "The melting of the Siachen glacier", *Current Science*, Vol. 96, No. 5

<sup>18</sup> "War at the Top of the World", [Online: web] Accessed 17.07.2009; URL: <http://www.siachenglacier.com>.

Type of boundary line, (d) Physical geography, (e) Human geography, and (f) Access.<sup>19</sup>

Analysing the Indo-Pak boundary from the point of view of these factors, one can easily make some explanations. This boundary is recent in origin and came about because of the decision of the British to divide India while leaving. The borders were superimposed with scant regard for physical or human geography. Thus, the range of problems is very large, given the disgruntled communities left on both sides of the divide who have been displaced and whose common heritage and economic and social life have been totally disrupted.<sup>20</sup>

As far as the legal status of these boundaries is concerned, they are now formally agreed to and well demarcated in most parts. However; the “line of control” in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), Sir Creek and Siachen areas are not demarcated. With respect to the type of boundary line, although the boundary is well demarcated it was initially difficult to identify because it is not aligned along any geographical or man-made features. It has now become somewhat more identifiable because of the prominently visible alignment of the border fence.<sup>21</sup>

As far as physical geography is concerned, the international boundary passes through varied terrain such as snow clad mountains, well developed landscape, desert and marshy wasteland. Therefore, the demarcation methods differ from place to place. Further, the scope of and opportunities for access to the borders and methodologies for guarding and securing the boundary in different areas also differ radically from place to place.<sup>22</sup>

The approach to both border guarding and border management in low population density regions vis-a-vis high population density regions will differ widely. Access to the international borders with Pakistan, including crossing the borders, is a cumbersome process. Consequent to the fencing/floodlighting of the Indo-Pakistan border and the development of patrolling tracks, the tactical deployment of the Border Guarding Forces and patrolling arrangements are the matter

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<sup>19</sup>Blake, Gerald H. (1998), “The objectives of land boundary management” presented to the International Boundary research Units 7<sup>th</sup> workshop 13-14 July, 1998.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid*

<sup>21</sup> *ibid*

<sup>22</sup> Jamwal, N.S. (2002), “Management of Land Borders” *Strategic Analysis*, 26(3), p.419.

of great concern. Notwithstanding the fact that much of the Indo-Pakistan border has been fenced and provided with floodlighting, it remains vulnerable to smuggling activities and clandestine contact with anti-India elements. This, together with Pakistan's efforts to rekindle terrorism in Punjab, is prime concern for maintenance of utmost vigilance on this border.<sup>23</sup>

Security and checking arrangements at Attari are not in flawless position, in the context of the fact that the Samjhauta Express is being used for gunrunning and drug trafficking<sup>24</sup>. It is essential to ensure foolproof security checks, in respect of buses that ply between India and Pakistan. As in the case of Punjab, so too in the case of Rajasthan, the MHA is concerned to take suitable action to step up vigilance, as there is not only gunrunning and drug trafficking across the Rajasthan border but also infiltration of terrorists. The harsh living conditions in many parts of the Rajasthan – Gujarat border, particularly the desert and the Rann of Kutch, adversely influence the morale of the personnel posted in the area.<sup>25</sup> Special attention needs to be paid on a priority basis to the problems being faced by the border guarding forces.

The guarding of the coastal and creek areas of Gujarat pose extreme challenges due to the hostile terrain, inhospitable climatic conditions, hazardous nature of the sea and creek areas on this side of the border, the existence of about 400 sq. kms of mangrove swamp with interlacing intricate stretches of sub-creeks and deep inlets of varying dimensions and further complicated by the ever shifting sand bars. The resources presently available to the BSF, Police and the Customs are inadequate to meet these challenges in coastal and creek areas. Provision of resources to equip these forces suitably would have financial implications.<sup>26</sup>

#### **4.4 Government's Initiatives and Progress**

India shares 3,323 km. [including Line of Control (LoC) in Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) sector] of its land border with Pakistan. This border runs along the States of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Punjab and J&K. The Indo-Pakistan border has varied terrain and distinct geographical features. This border is characterised by attempts at infiltration

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<sup>23</sup> "Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs", *Government of India*, Chapter-III, p.3.

<sup>24</sup> "Border Management", *Report of the Group of Ministers on National Security*; Chapter-V, p.6.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid*

<sup>26</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India Chapter-III, p.14.

by terrorists and smuggling of arms, ammunition and contraband, the LoC being the most active and live portion of the border. A total length of 462.45 km. and 461 km. has been fenced and flood lit respectively in the entire Punjab sector, except some gaps in riverine areas. In Rajasthan sector also, the work of construction of fencing and flood lighting in 1,048 km. and 1,023 km. respectively has been completed except certain shifting sand dune areas. In Jammu sector, the work of construction of 185 km. of fencing has been completed. 175.50 km. of floodlighting works have also been completed and work on 9.96 km. will be undertaken after realignment of fencing. Work of floodlighting in a length of 0.54 km. is in progress.<sup>27</sup> With the sealing of Punjab and Rajasthan borders, vulnerability of Gujarat border to infiltration and other illegal cross-border activities has increased. Therefore, the Government approved a comprehensive proposal for erecting fencing, flood lighting and construction of border/link roads and Border Out-Posts for Border Security Force (BSF) in the Gujarat sector of the Indo-Pak border. So far, 217 km. of fencing and 202 km. of flood lighting have been completed in the Gujarat sector out of 310 km. sanctioned. There has been time overrun in completing the project due to unforeseen circumstances and natural calamities including devastating earthquake in 2001, unprecedented rains and consequential floods in 2003 and 2006. The cost of the project has also increased considerably due to price escalation, increase in the scope of work, up-gradation of specifications for roads and electrical works, etc. In addition, an expenditure of Rs.223 crore is estimated for upgradation works as per Central Road Research Institute (CRRI) recommendations after the floods in 2006. Approval for extension of time for completion of fencing/ floodlighting project in Gujarat sector and revised cost is being obtained.<sup>28</sup>

#### **4.4.1 The Western and Other Borders**

In the west, the entire border with Pakistan is manned by the BSF except the Line of Control (LoC) in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). The LoC is the responsibility of the army with some BSF battalions placed under its operational control. Since the LoC has been mostly active on a daily basis, particularly since the early 1990s, this is a good arrangement. On the LoC, the primary operational responsibility is to ensure

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<sup>27</sup> "Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs", *Government of India*, Chapter-III p.30.

<sup>28</sup> *ibid*

its physical integrity against encroachment by the Pakistan Army. The army's secondary responsibility is to minimise trans-LoC infiltration by armed mercenary terrorists usually aided and abetted by the Pakistan Army and the ISI. For over more than 50 years since the Kashmir conflict began in 1947-48, soon after independence, the two armies were engaged in a so-called 'eyeball-to-eyeball' confrontation with daily loss of life and property. An informal cease-fire has been in place all along the LoC, including at the Actual Ground Position Line (AGPL) along the Salto Range west of the Siachen Glacier, since November 25, 2003.<sup>29</sup> Though the LoC is no longer 'live' as small arms fire, machine gun and mortar fire have almost completely stopped, infiltration from POK continues at reduced rates.

#### **4.4.2 Punjab and Rajasthan**

A total length of 462.45 Km and 461 Km has been fenced and flood lit respectively in the entire Punjab sector, except some gaps in riverine areas. In Rajasthan sector also, the work of construction of fencing and flood lighting in 1048 Km and 1023 Km respectively has been completed except certain shifting sand dune areas.<sup>30</sup>

#### **4.4.3 Jammu International Border**

The work of construction of 185 Km of fencing and 176.04 Km of floodlighting have been completed along Jammu International Border. The work on 9.96 Km of floodlighting will be undertaken after realignment of fencing.<sup>31</sup>

#### **4.4.4 Gujarat**

With the sealing of Punjab and Rajasthan borders, vulnerability of Gujarat border to infiltration and other illegal cross-border activities had increased. Therefore, the Government approved a comprehensive proposal for erecting fencing, flood lighting and construction of border/link roads and Border Out-Posts for Border Security Force in the Gujarat sector of the border. So far, 217 Km of fencing and 202

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<sup>29</sup>Kanwal, Gurmeet (2008) "India's Borders"; *Unending Threats and Challenges*, 23(1), [Online: web] Accessed 25-05-2009; URL: <http://www.indiandefencereview.com/2008/10/indias-borders.html>.

<sup>30</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India Chapter-III, p.5

<sup>31</sup> *ibid*

Km of flood lighting have been completed in the Gujarat sector out of 310 Km sanctioned.<sup>32</sup>

#### **4.4.5 Coastal Security**

A Coastal Security Scheme has been formulated for strengthening infrastructure for patrolling and surveillance of country's coastal areas (particularly the shallow areas close to the coast) to check and counter illegal cross border activities and criminal activities using coast or sea. The scheme is being implemented in all the 9 coastal States and 4 Union territories from the year 2005-06.<sup>33</sup> Under the scheme, assistance has been given to the coastal States and Union territories to set up 73 coastal police stations which will be equipped with 204 boats, 149 jeeps and 318 motorcycles for mobility on coast and in close coastal waters. The coastal police stations will also have a component of marine police personnel trained in maritime activities. A lump sum assistance of Rs.10 lakh per police station will be given for equipment, computer, furniture etc.

#### **4.4.6 Border Management Scheme for Strengthening Joint Coastal Patrolling off the Coast of Gujarat and Maharashtra**

Considering the vulnerability of the coasts of Gujarat and Maharashtra to illegal cross-border activities, patrolling of the area between the International Maritime Boundary Line (IMBL) with Pakistan and north of Goa is jointly done by Navy, Coast Guard, State Police and the Customs. While patrolling of the high seas is undertaken by the Navy and Coast Guard, the patrolling of water close to the coast is undertaken by a joint contingent of Navy, State Police and Customs using trawlers. For further strengthening the joint coastal patrolling, a scheme has been formulated to enable Coast Guard to takeover patrolling of the close coastal waters with its own vessels in phases. Under the scheme, assistance is being given to Coast Guard to acquire 15 Interceptor Boats for close coastal patrolling and to set up 3 additional Coast Guard Stations at Veraval in Gujarat and Murud Janjira and Dahanu in Maharashtra. The scheme is being implemented jointly by the Ministry of Home Affairs, which meets the non-recurring expenditure estimated to be Rs.342.56 crore

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<sup>32</sup> *ibid*

<sup>33</sup> Rao, Radhakrishna (2008), "India's Coastal Security", *India Strategic*, [Online: web] Accessed 18.06.2009; URL: <http://www.indiastrategic.in/topstories231.htm>.

and Ministry of Defence for meeting the recurring expenditure. The scheme is scheduled to be completed in 6 years from the year 2005-06. Coast Guard has commenced patrolling of the coastal areas of Gujarat since February, 2006, by setting up the Coast Guard Station at Veraval.<sup>34</sup>

#### **4.4.7 The India-Pakistan bilateral visa regime**

According to the India-Pakistan bilateral visa regime, visitors can enter only from fixed points. Despite long land borders, there are no road links. Only one biweekly train service, the Samjhauta Express, crosses the border at a single point, Wagah-Attari, via Amritsar in the Indian Punjab and Lahore, the capital of Pakistan's Punjab province.<sup>35</sup> Entry by air or by sea is restricted to a limited number of entry points and the same entry and exit points must be used.<sup>36</sup> Travel within India and Pakistan is restricted to a limited number of cities, and permission for specific cities must be acquired in advance. In 1997, India made unilateral travel concessions, including (1) visas for Pakistani tourist groups, (2) one-year multiple entry visas for businessmen, who would be allowed to exit either through Mumbai or Delhi, (3) exemption from police reporting for senior Pakistani citizens, and (4) Under the aegis of SAARC, visa exemptions for categories of South Asian citizens include the senior judiciary, parliamentarians, the heads of national academic institutions, and heads of chambers of commerce and industry. Although the SAARC exemption scheme is limited to the political and economic elite, attempts are underway to increase these categories.<sup>37</sup>

Both states strongly resist unrestricted movement of Indian and Pakistani citizens across their respective national borders and within their national territories. Even participants in officially approved track-two dialogues find their activities hampered by bureaucratic delays in obtaining visas as well as by internal travel restrictions and by hindrances such as police reporting. In both countries, bureaucratic resistance to free movement and access is often justified by claims that unrestricted

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<sup>34</sup> Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India Chapter-III, p.16.

<sup>35</sup> Pakistani passengers are taken straight to New Delhi and are not allowed to disembark en route.

<sup>36</sup> Entry points by air are restricted to Karachi, Lahore, and Islamabad in Pakistan and Mumbai, New Delhi, and Amritsar in India. Entry by sea is through the ports of Karachi (Pakistan) and Mumbai (India).

<sup>37</sup> Maloy Krishna Dhar, "The 'Third Track' to Pakistan," *Indian Express*, April 2, 1997.



movement may threaten national security by encouraging terrorist infiltration or espionage.<sup>38</sup> Other justifications include the desire to curb the influx of illegal economic migrants, and the necessity to counter smuggling and the cross-border traffic in arms and narcotics.<sup>39</sup>

#### **4.5 Strategies for Indo-Pak Border Management**

Speaking at the India Today Conclave in the first week of March 2009, General Musharraf, the former President of Pakistan, identified three major border-related issues confronting India and Pakistan. First is the issue of Kashmir, over which the two countries have fought three major wars, second the issue of Siachen and the third, the issue of Sir Creek. He repeatedly emphasised that the issue of Kashmir was the core issue and that it needed to be resolved in order to bring about lasting peace in the region.<sup>40</sup> Speaking of Kashmir, he stated the position of the Government of India is that the entire J&K including POK is an integral part of India and that no part of Indian Territory can be ceded.<sup>41</sup> The stand of Pakistan, on the other hand, is that India must demilitarise Kashmir and that a plebiscite should be carried out to ascertain the will of the Kashmiri people.<sup>42</sup> However, these are the maximalist positions. What is achievable must be kept in sight—probably converting the LoC into a soft International Border. Enhanced people-to-people contact and trade and transit through designated entry and exit points are effective ways in reducing tensions. This is in fact what is being practised on the ground. Trade routes have been opened. People are being allowed to directly travel from Kashmir to POK and vice versa. One important positive side effect that this might have is the exposure of Kashmiri people to the conditions prevailing in POK, which should convince them that they have no future with Pakistan.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> *ibid*

<sup>39</sup> In a statement before Parliament, the Pakistani Interior Minister, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain claimed that there were 100,000 illegal Indian immigrants in Karachi alone. *Dawn*, September 5, 1997.

<sup>40</sup> "LoC is Berlin Wall, tear it down: Musharraf", *India Today Conclave: 2009*; [Online: web] Accessed 12.07.2009; URL:

<http://conclave.digitaltoday.in/conclave2009/speechtranscript.php?id=2652&issueid=33>.

<sup>41</sup> "China-Pak 'Boundary Agreement' illegal: India", *Indian Express*; 15 July 2009, [Online: web] Accessed 11.07.2009; URL: <http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/ChinaPak-Boundary-Agreement-illegal-India/489775>.

<sup>42</sup> Jha, Prem Shankar (1998), *Kashmir, 1947: Rival Version of History*; Oxford University Press: New York, p.5.

<sup>43</sup> Puri, Luv (2003), "Towards a Softer Border", *EPW*, 31 May: 2003, p.2117.

With respect to Siachen, detailed survey and demarcation are essential in order to reduce force levels. This would drastically reduce expenditure and save precious lives. Being generally uninhabited, the area needs infrastructure only for movement and sustenance of the armed forces deployed there. On the borders along Punjab, there are no big border problems with Pakistan, but attempts by state and non-state actors from Pakistan to infiltrate militants and smuggle arms, drugs and fake currency continue. Fencing has brought the phenomenon under control to a very large extent. However, such activity still takes place with the active participation of smugglers and anti-national elements in India. Extensive use of less manpower intensive modern surveillance devices would prove very effective in detecting and tracking the movements of anti-nationals and enhancing overall efficiency and success rates.<sup>44</sup> Construction of motorable roads along the fence would also enhance the reaction capability of border guarding forces.

The Government stands on the unique position of the BSF as its sole visible instrument in remote far-flung areas to identify the problems of border populations and initiate programmes and projects for their overall economic development. The presence and reach of the BSF may also be gainfully utilised to create a databank of the border population living in their area of responsibility, details of land holdings and details of reputed persons as well as criminals in the AOR, among other things. The border guarding forces and civil agencies operating in the area coordinate their activities for the benefit of the civil population. The BSF also works closely with the intelligence agencies operating in border areas.<sup>45</sup> The fencing along the borders in Punjab has brought about fundamental changes in the lifestyles of the border population including changes in crop pattern and timings for cultivation. Several restrictions must perforce be imposed on the movement of farmers across the fence, which causes them several difficulties. The rationale for these restrictions needs to be explained to them. The border guarding troops should empathise and adopt a humane approach while carrying out their checks at the gates. Handling/checking of women at the gates is another tricky issue. So far, women from villages are being utilised to

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<sup>44</sup> Kumar, Bharat (2003), "Border Surveillance: Can Technology Help?", *The United Service Institution of India Magazine Article: Oct-Dec-2003*, [Online: Web] Accessed 17.06.2009; URL: [http://www.usiofindia.org/article\\_oct\\_dec03\\_9.htm](http://www.usiofindia.org/article_oct_dec03_9.htm).

<sup>45</sup> "Border Security Force", *National portal of India*; [Online: Web] Accessed 20.06.2009; URL: [http://india.gov.in/sectors/defence/border\\_security\\_force.php](http://india.gov.in/sectors/defence/border_security_force.php).

carry out this task. With the induction of lady constables into the BSF, the problem is likely to ease off.<sup>46</sup>

A large area of uncultivated land measuring about 14,000 acres lying on the far side of the fence is owned by the Government. Wild sarkanda growing here conceals criminals from Pakistan and makes dominating the borders difficult. The Government, BSF and population would all benefit from this land being allotted to the needy.<sup>47</sup>

The Border Area Development Programme (BADP) was started in the year 1986-87 for balanced development of border areas of States bordering Pakistan, namely Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Gujarat and Rajasthan. During the Eighth Plan, the programme was revamped and its coverage was extended to the States on the eastern border with Bangladesh. In the Ninth Plan period, the programme has been extended to all the land borders in response to the demands of the State Governments and the Ministry of Home Affairs. Thus, in 1997-98, BADP was extended to States bordering Myanmar. In 1998-99 the States bordering China were included under the Programme and from 1999-2000, the Programme was further extended to include the States bordering Nepal and Bhutan also. The main objective of BADP is to meet the special needs of the people living in remote, and inaccessible areas situated near the border.<sup>48</sup>

The Border Area Development Funds meant to be spent in border blocks on the welfare of the border population are not actually benefiting it. While the funds are technically being spent in border blocks, the area where the projects under BADP are being commissioned is far from the borders. As a result, the beneficiaries are actually people residing in the interiors.<sup>49</sup> As suggested above, the spread and reach of the BSF can be gainfully utilised by the Government to identify projects in border areas. It is suggested that part of the BADP funds be allocated for specific projects identified by the BSF and approved by an empowered committee to be set up in the Border

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<sup>46</sup> *ibid*

<sup>47</sup> *ibid*

<sup>48</sup> "BADP", [Online: Web] Accessed 11.06.2009; URL: <http://planningcommission.gov.in/plans/annualplan/ap2021pdf/ap2021ch10-3.pdf>.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid*

Management Division of the MHA.<sup>50</sup> The BSF representative on the State level committees could play a vital role in this regard. The security-related portion of the BADP budget could also be spent in a manner that benefits both the civil population and the BSF. Additionally, the resources of the BSF might be used to respond to emergencies such as those caused by earthquakes and floods.<sup>51</sup>

Creating Integrating Check Post at selected places such as Attari to facilitate smooth trade and transit should increase the volume of trade and lead to better relations with Pakistan. This will also create employment opportunities for border residents.<sup>52</sup>

Plans could also be made to develop tourism and pilgrimage in the border areas in Punjab. A large number of people regularly visit these areas to witness the retreat ceremony both at Attari and Hussainiwala. Similarly, there is always a large congregation present for darshan of Gurudwara Kartarpur Sahib located about 3Km from the IB in DBN as the crow flies. Many more such places could be identified and the necessary infrastructure developed.<sup>53</sup>

The problems of managing the borders with Pakistan in Rajasthan get complicated due to adverse terrain and weather conditions. Shifting sand dunes, desert storms and extreme temperature make it very difficult for the troops to dominate the borders and keep the large areas of responsibility under observation. The effectiveness of the fence is reduced and its maintenance made difficult by frequent sand storms. Administration and logistics are the major issues of concern. In addition, health hazards and remoteness adversely affect the morale of troops and the local population. Proper living accommodations must be provided to troops in these areas.

For the border population, water and lack of employment opportunities are the main issues. We must initiate programmes to alleviate these problems. The Indira Gandhi Canal is slowly changing the landscape and large areas that were not cultivable earlier have been brought under cultivation. This change needs to be sustained to ensure the prosperity of the border regions.

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<sup>50</sup> *ibid*

<sup>52</sup> "Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs", *Government of India*, Chapter-III, p.8.

<sup>53</sup> *ibid*

Sir Creek area is riverine, the water wing of the BSF should be strengthened, and floating BOPs with the capacity to stay out to sea longer have been deployed. These should be augmented with smaller boats that can navigate shallower creeks and water channels. The string of composite BOPs constructed in the Ran area has vastly improved border domination here. However, extreme climate and marshy conditions make border domination difficult during the rainy season and the ISI and smugglers still try to exploit the area. Therefore, suitable means of communication must be developed to better manage the border here.

The recent incident that occurred in Mumbai on 26/11/09 indicates that terrorists are keen to exploit this vast unpatrolled area to carry out nefarious activities. Therefore, aerial surveillance devices such as Helicopters, Drones and Observation Aero-states with day and night surveillance capabilities are essential. These devices would also be very useful in carrying out surveillance in the Rajasthan area. Command & Control Systems must also be strengthened to integrate all surveillance systems and elements in a manner that enables the creation of a situation display in real time for action at different levels. BSF BOPs would thus be able to operate as a constantly available and highly mobile rapid response and reinforcement force.

The dramatic arrival of terrorists in Mumbai via the sea route has highlighted the vulnerability of India's 7,516-km coastline and the need to strengthen the fledgling Marine Police - a force that took off in 2007 but is yet to materialise fully. Marine Police, whose personnel are to be drawn from police in various states, has been envisaged as the first line of defence along India's coastline to patrol a radius of 10 km from the shore.<sup>54</sup>

Sanction has been given for the setting up of 73 coastal police stations, 97 check posts, 58 outposts and 30 barracks. "About 58 of the 73 approved coastal police stations have already been made operational, which is a little more than the halfway mark," said a senior coast guard official on condition of anonymity.<sup>55</sup>

The coastal areas in the western region are considered more sensitive and intelligence agencies have voiced concern over the influx of militants into states like

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<sup>54</sup> "Annual Report 2007-08 of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs", *Government of India*, Chapter-III, p.14.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid*

Gujarat and Maharashtra, both of which border the Arabian Sea. These coastal routes coupled with the land border along Nepal and Bangladesh are the most preferred routes of terrorists to infiltrate and smuggle in arms and explosives into Indian territory.

The concept of Marine Police was mooted for the first time in 2006 against the backdrop of the 1993 terror attacks in Mumbai when large amounts of ammunition landed on the shores of the city undetected. The concept finally took off in the beginning of 2007. The Indian Coast Guard was asked to impart training to state police and help them find their sea legs.

Under the force, coastal police stations are to be equipped with 204 boats, 149 jeeps and 312 motorcycles for increasing the mobility of police personnel on the coast and in close coastal waters. So far orders for some 90 high speed boats of 10-tonne and 20- tonne class have been placed with various shipyards across the country. Gujarat, which has a 1,600-km-long coastline, has so far received only one boat as against 30 modern boats sanctioned by the centre.<sup>56</sup> Once the Marine Police force takes off fully, the coast guard will be responsible for the coastal waters between 10 km from the shore and 50 km, with the Indian Navy guarding the waters beyond that.

A Cabinet Committee on Security meeting was held on December 2, 2009 to discuss expanding the National Security Guards (NSG) to cities outside Delhi.<sup>57</sup> The aim is to have permanent presence of NSG anti-terrorist squads in cities such as Mumbai, Chennai, Bangalore, Hyderabad and Kolkata, to avoid wasting precious time travelling from Delhi. All NSG commandos will now undergo a new module of training to learn how to deal with future anti-siege operations because the Taj terrorists were in a gun battle for 59 hours continuously.<sup>58</sup>

Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh on an all party conference declared that legal framework will be strengthened in the battle against terrorism and a federal anti-terrorist intelligence and investigation agency, like the FBI, will be set up soon to co-

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<sup>56</sup> *ibid*

<sup>57</sup> "India to bolster NSG strength", *PTI*, [Online: Web] Accessed 12.07.2009; URL: <http://www.business-standard.com/india/news/india-to-bolster-nsg-strength/00/46/50351>.

<sup>58</sup> "Mumbai attacks learning experience for NSG", *Press Trust of India*, [Online: Web] Accessed 23.06.2009; URL: [http://www.ndtv.com/convergence/ndtv/mumbaiteerrorstrike/Election\\_Story.aspx?ID=NEWEN20080074591&type=News](http://www.ndtv.com/convergence/ndtv/mumbaiteerrorstrike/Election_Story.aspx?ID=NEWEN20080074591&type=News).

ordinate actions against terrorism.<sup>59</sup> On December 17, the Lok Sabha approved two new anti-terror bills, which are expected to pass the upper house (Rajya Sabha) on the 19th. One sets up a National Investigation Agency, similar to the FBI, with sweeping powers of investigation. The second strengthens existing anti-terror laws to allow suspects to be detained without bail for up to six months on the orders of a judge.<sup>60</sup>

The major problem of Indo-Pak border management is the myopic view and general perception that it is the responsibility of the BSF alone and that border security is the be all and end all of Border Management. This attitude is slowly changing, as reflected by the creation of a separate Department of Border Management in the GOI. The quality of Border Management can be improved with the economic development of border areas and through the coordinated efforts of all stakeholders.

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<sup>59</sup> "PM for federal agency, better legal framework", *Press Trust of India*, [Online: Web] Accessed 14.07.2009;

URL:[http://www.ndtv.com/convergence/ndtv/mumbaiterrorstrike/Election\\_Story.aspx?ID=NEWEN20080074719&type=News](http://www.ndtv.com/convergence/ndtv/mumbaiterrorstrike/Election_Story.aspx?ID=NEWEN20080074719&type=News).

<sup>60</sup> "India to tighten anti-terror laws", *BBC News Service*, [Online: Web] Accessed 12.07.2009; URL:[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/7787434.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7787434.stm).

## **Chapter-V**

# **Conclusion**



Chapter-V

## **Conclusion**

Border Management is a combined endeavour of state and its people. Without proper mechanism and its implementation, it becomes only a notional campaigning of the government and without proper involvement of people; it lost its credibility in future. Therefore, it is needed that in making of the policies and strategies to manage the national borders, responsible agency makes study comprehensively with sensitivity viewing the ground realities. Borders are great site of interactions between the people of two nations. This process should not get affected with the policies and mechanisms of Border Management.

Borders provide wide line of opportunities to a nation to make, maintain and sustain a lively relationship with its neighbours. In case of hostile neighbour (as in case of Pakistan), it is great challenge for the state to translate border management-mechanisms in such a manner that it could not affect the popular interactions between the people of both sides.

Border Management is not merely wide idea of border-security. Undoubtedly; border-security is prime concern but other purposes of state are also there. Every state needs better relationship with its neighbours not only for political stability but also for national development. So, to establish effective relationship; borders are great mean of communication. Borders should be managed in such a way that it work as a great medium for interactions and at the same time it make barriers preventing cross-border arrivals from instable and a nation in crisis.

This study has attempted to analyse India's Border Management with a special focus on India-Pakistan border. Both countries share the equal legacy of colonial experience and bitterness and complexities of India's partition. Both countries did not pay much attention till recent time about border management and there were clear absence of strategic discourse on wider aspect of border-security. It was Kargil war that changed strategic thinking about border-security aspect of the country. After that India established Kargil Review Committee and following the reports of the committee,

India set up Task Force on Border management which was constituted by Group of Ministers (GoM) of central government.

Studying border-security scenario of the country, there is popular perception that border-regulation is sole concrete option to ensure border-security. But, other factors are equally and sometimes more important.

Evolution of border is very significant factor. Here, history determines the nature of border and orientations of borderland people. India-Pakistan border came into being after India's partition. The line was decided by the Border Commissions chaired by Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who was to divide equitably 175,000 square miles (450,000 km<sup>2</sup>) of territory with 88 million people.<sup>1</sup> Radcliffe was in such haste that evens him, himself was not satisfied with what he did. People, who were on the borderline, they were in great confusion and crisis. Partition of India was based on religion. But, besides of religion people shared many things in common. These physical divisions could not make cultural divisions in their minds with similar effects. Sometimes, they were not welcomed at any sides of border. Hence; borderland people hold very bitter test of time and it is not easy to attune them with national mainstream. Government of India initiated the programme of 'Border Area Development Programme (BADP)' to infrastructural development of border-area, which would be essential for overall development of the people. BADP should be accelerated and monitored by a central panel.

Complex nature of borders is another important factor which determines the quality and challenges to the border-security. India-Pakistan border consists of mountains, plains, deserts, riverine and jungle terrain with varying degree of habitation and ethnic mix residing on the borderland. This complex nature of borders makes them, extremely porous and easy to cross. India shares three sorts of border with Pakistan; International boundaries, Line of Control (LoC) and there is also a stretch of 199 kilometres in the Kutch sector which has not been demarcated because of stubborn attitude of Pakistan. This requires comprehensive planning to border-security and effective strategies to translate it into reality.

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<sup>1</sup> Read, A. and Fisher, D. (1997), "The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence", New York: Norton, page. 482

India's geo-strategic position is also a huge factor which affects the management of border-security. India is situated amid two countries, with which she fought wars; China and Pakistan. Borders with Bangladesh and Nepal are also matter of serious concern. Pakistan, China, Nepal and Bangladesh constitute most of borders of India. India is biggest country in the South Asia region and almost situated in the midst of the region. India has borders with five of the six countries of South Asia but none of them shares a common border with each other. Most of the serious problems like illegal migration, drug, trafficking, etc., flow towards India and hence affect it more than any other country. This geo-strategic position makes India's border more vulnerable than any other country in the region.

Country's internal security scenario is major factor which impacted badly on border-security of India. Maoist insurgencies, emergence of red corridor, separatist movements, riots which are frequently happen with various causes make the country exposed to misuse of national borders. These conditions tighten the framing of border-security.

Un-demarcated boundaries and disputed borders are a source of tension and make policing difficult. It requires political will and bureaucratic excellence at the same to cope with it. Smuggling of different consumer and intermediate goods, trafficking in drugs and narcotics, etc. flourish through large parts of Indian borders. For clandestine cross-border transit, communities of professional couriers have come up in the villages and towns close to land borders.

Unabated firing on the entire Jammu and Kashmir border/LoC is a serious problem for the management of the border. Such firing affects mostly the civil population of the border belt including the livestock and helps the armed intruders and smugglers.

Disparity in the economic conditions across the borders have brought demographic changes and population composition caused due to illegal migration, particularly on the Indo-Bangladesh and Indo-Nepal border. The problem of illegal migration poses a serious challenge to the national security unless immediate measures like border fencing and development of border areas is completed. Keeping in view these conditions; There is crying need to revise the present system of tenure and

deployment of border security forces. A lot of reasons and suggestions can be given in this regard.

Border guarding forces have assumed greater challenge and risk compared to normal law and order situations. They need to be appropriately strengthened both in terms of equipment and manpower.

The repeated withdrawal, in large numbers, of para-military forces from border guarding duties for internal security and counter-insurgency duties has led to a neglect of the borders. These forces have also been unable to perform optimally due to cannibalization of battalions and even companies. While border guarding forces would work along with and under operational control of the army during war, there should be close interaction at all levels during peace time to share intelligence and understand each other's limitations and capabilities. Towards this end, joint control rooms may be established and manned at appropriate levels even during peace time. The Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) is responsible for the internal security of the country starting from the international boundary. All the organizations working in the border areas for the development and law enforcement should seek directions and be accountable to one nodal agency (MHA) during peace and Ministry of Defence (MoD) during war.

Multiplicity of forces on the same borders has inevitably led to the lack of accountability as well as problems of command and control. One border guarding force (Para-military) for the international borders and the army to continue to remain deployed on the disputed borders till final settlement. Forces guarding the border will have a role during war which would necessitate it to function along with the army. The same has been brought out during the recent tension on western border where BSF continued to remain deployed on forward locations/border outposts (BOPs) thus providing depth to the regular army. National security demands integration of forces guarding the border with the army to thwart any external aggression which can only be possible if the two forces understand each other's ethos, culture, capabilities and limitations, during peace time. Moreover, the force guarding the border would provide a cohesive punch, making it easy for the army to coordinate, communicate and function better.

In that case it would be more effective for the army to deal with a single entity rather than too many. It can act as an extension of the army in war. Even for internal security situations, one force, if ever called, would be easy to handle and be accountable. Towards an objective of one border guarding force, other border guarding forces like ITBP and Assam Rifles be merged with BSF and placed under Ministry of Home Affairs during peace and Ministry of Defence during war.

There are multiple agencies working on the borders for collection of intelligence, enforcement of law, development of areas, etc. These agencies normally work without any formal institutionalized arrangement of information sharing and coordination. Clarity of role and accountability of various agencies working on the borders needs to be laid out. If the border guarding force is to be made accountable for the management of borders, others are to function in close coordination with it.

Availability of modern weapons and technical gadgets to anti-national elements has made the task of the border forces difficult. *Inter se* distance between forward localities/BOPs favours such unscrupulous elements particularly during the night. To overcome this problem, the border security system has to be augmented with technical monitoring systems, border fencing, floodlighting, border roads, etc. for effective border management.

Intelligence is the key to effective border management, where border forces have always been found wanting. This is more so because the troops and intelligence staff change very frequently. Even otherwise, developing the sources that can provide real time action information in a short time is difficult. Troops from outside find it difficult to develop rapport with the local population in a short time. To overcome this problem, it is proposed to carry out at least some recruitment from within the local population who remain deployed in the area permanently and can be used for the purpose of developing contacts and collecting information.

One of the problems of managing our borders is the under-developed nature of these areas and the alienation of the local people. Border guarding forces are the visible government institutions functioning in these areas with resources and manpower, and can play an important role in integrating the far flung areas to the mainland by acting as a link between the two. With more resources made available to them, some amount

of the developmental activities can be undertaken by the border guarding forces. They can also be involved in exploration and exploitation of local resources.

All these must be translated in a way that these forces can smoothly intermesh with the army in the case of any emergency or war or war-like situation. It is equally important that the border guarding forces are not withdrawn from the borders for manning anti-insurgency and security duties in the various parts of the country. Depleting the borders by withdrawal of such forces for being deployed in aid of civil power, as has happened time and again in recent years, leaves the country's security at grave risk.

The state governments must be made to rely, as much as possible, on their own police forces and not to excessively look for support from the central police forces. This would imply the state governments being prepared to spend a much larger portion of their budgets on police and, wherever necessary, to raise such additional police force, with part-funding from the centre, under the scheme of India Reserve Battalions. In the past, the deployment of forces on the borders has been on an ad hoc basis and more than one force was deployed on the same border. As a result, there has been dilution of responsibility and accountability among the forces. It is therefore necessary that the principle of 'one border one force' is adopted and scrupulously adhered to. This would make the given border guarding forces squarely responsible for the border under its charge and make the assessment of its performance much more easy and straightforward. It is necessary that the marine police have the necessary training and wherewithal such as boats, hovercrafts, telecommunication facilities, etc, for surveillance along the coast. The central government will have to give both financial and technical assistance to the states in this behalf.

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